# Mewar AND The Mughal EMPERORS

— Dr. G. N. Sharma
M.A., Ph.D.

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(Sir) JADUNATH SARKAR.

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4. Prachin Bharat (1954)
5. Panch Kathain (1949)
6. Bharatiya Itihas ki Manchitravali (to be published shortly)

# Mewar & The Mughal Emperors

## ( 1526-1707 A. D. )

BY

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A THESIS
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# FOREWORD

No indigenous State in medieval India figured so prominently in the chequered annals of our land and played so valiant a role in resisting the aggressive expansion of the foreign Sultanate of Delhi (1206—1526) and its successor the Mughal Empire (1526—1803) as the tiny Mewar with a population and revenue hardly as numerous as those of any two districts in Uttar Pradesh of today. This redoubtable principality was at war from 1527 to 1615, with small intervals of respite, with the mighty Mughal Empire which commanded enormous resources in men and money, and had for nearly half a century at its head a king of Akbar's genius, the richest and most powerful monarch of his time in the world. In this long and unequal fight Mewar produced a series of remarkable rulers, two of whom—Sanga and Pratap—were 'heroes as kings' and commanded unquestioned loyalty and enthusiastic co-operation of all sections of their people. There were to be sure a few examples of despair and defection, but the bulk of the nobility and common people stood by their rulers who counted no sacrifice as too great in defence of their liberty and honour and who refused to bend their heads before anybody, much less the alien Mughal Emperor until the exhaustion of their man-power and economic resources compelled Amar Singh in 1615 to enter into an honourable treaty of peace with Jahangir.

The history of this long epoch down to 1707, replete with many an act of heroism, unflinching obedience to duty, self-sacrifice and patriotic devotion to *Dharma,* is told in this book by Dr. Gopi Nath Sharma on the basis of contemporary recods in Persian, Sanskrit and Rajasthani many of which are still in manuscript. He has not only worked on old materials known to Tod and Ojha, but has discovered new ones, such as, many copper-plate grants in Sanskrit and Mewari, MS letters in Mewari, and a few contemporary Sanskrit works, notably Amarsar and Amar Bhushan, composed during the reign of Amar Singh (1597—1620) and utilised them here for the first time. He has also been allowed to consult rare Persian farmans in the private library of His Highness the Maharana and Persian letters belonging to Dr. Raghubir Singh of Sitamau. His patient personal quest in Mewar to which he belongs for over a decade and critical examination of all available evidence have enabled Dr. Gopi Nath to separate the facts from fiction, to correct many errors of previous writers including the late Dr. Ojha, and to reject the later bardic traditions that find no confirmation in sober contemporary records. The result of this scientific study has been given in clear, concise and forceful English. Altogether this book marks a definite advance in our knowledge, and forms a valuable contribution to the history of the period. As one under whose supervision and guidance the work was commenced, pursued and completed and who is intimately acquainted with every stage of its development, I have great pleasure in commending it as a piece of genuine painstaking research.

AGRA COLLEGE, AGRA.
*January 20, 1954.*

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

# PREFACE

The history of the relations between Mewar and the first six Mughal emperors is a fascinating theme, but no connected account of the subject exists. Modern research workers have touched upon it in several specialised monographs on several Mughal rulers, but none except Sir J. N. Sarkar has made full use of all the available Rajput sources. The works of modern writers are based generally on Persian sources; while the works of scholars of our generation writing in Hindi have failed to utilize all the Muslim Chronicles. In this work an attempt has been made to utilize fully Persian, Sanskrit and Rajasthani sources and on the basis of the critical examination of all these sources a balanced account, with sympathy and understanding, has been furnished here for the first time.

As far as I could, it has been my endeavour to base this thesis on the original contemporary MS. sources, chronicles and inscriptions. I have collected a mass of new material, sifted it thoroughly, and made it yield results that are embodied in the thesis. I have tried to be as impartial as I could. It is however for the readers to judge how far I have succeeded.

Due emphasis has been laid on the Geography of History, and the book is furnished with numerous maps. The illustrations have been very carefully selected for their interest in themselves and for their value in supplementing the narrative. The reader will find references in the Index to nearly all important persons and places. The Sanskrit and Rajasthani verses have been quoted exactly as they appear in the original MSS. However, an attempt has been made by giving a supplementary reading, at the end of the book, of those verses in correct form, as far as possible.

I am grateful to the authorities of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, Library of the Imperial Records' Department, Central Archaeological Library, New Delhi, Agra College Library, Public Library Victoria Hall Museum, Udaipur and the Maharana Bhupal College Library, Udaipur for their kindness in allowing me to use books of reference in their possession.

I am deeply indebted to the patronage of His Highness of Udaipur who has been kind enough to give me access to Jotdan, his private picture gallery to get readings from the portraits and paintings. I am also indebted to the authorities of the Saraswati Bhandar Library, Udaipur, for the facilities accorded to me for taking down notes from the original MSS. preserved there. I cannot fail to record my obligations to the Commissioner of Udaipur Division for the access given to me to the Records' Department where I was able to study and copy a large number of Copper-plates and Photographs of 'Pattas', so rich and hitherto unexplored historical material preserved there.

My grateful acknowledgments are due to my teacher Dr. A. L. Srivastava, M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt., Head of the Department of History and Politics, Agra College, Agra, who has inspired in me a love for history and who has been guiding me throughout in my research study.

I wish to express my thanks to Prof. Henry M. A., B. T., who has read the whole MS. carefully. I am also thankful to my publishers who have grudged no expenditure in making the book as attractive and useful as possible within short time.

Lastly, I acknowledge my indebtedness to the University of Rajputana for the grant-in-aid of Rs. 1,500/- received by me from the University towards the cost of the publication of this book.

UDAIPUR,
*January 20, 1954.* G. N. SHARMA

## CONTENTS

Chapter I. INTRODUCTION— 1—7

Land and people.

Chapter II. RANA SANGA AND BABUR : A CONTEST FOR SUPREMACY IN NORTHERN INDIA (1526-1528A.D.) 8—45

Past glory of Mewar—early rulers of Mewar—Sanga's personality—his early wars with Gujarat and Malwa–his victory as deduced from a Copper-plate—Babur and his career—causes of conflict between Sanga and Babur—Sanga's power determined from a Copper-plate—observations on the alleged letter by Sanga—battle of Bayana—battle of Khanua–Silahadi turned traitor—Sanga's defeat and causes—importance of the battle of Khanua—Sanga's last attempt and his death—Sanga's mistakes.

Chapter III. HUMAYUN AND MEWAR : CIVIL STRIFE AND POLITICAL LULL— (1528—1536 A. D.) 46—58

Ratan Singh's accession—Hadi Karmeti and her falling out with the Rana —Ratan's death and the accession of Vikramaditya—date of his accession examined from copper-plates—Vikram's unpopularity—Bahadur Shah and sack of Chitor—Hadi Karmeti seeks help from Humayun—treaty with Bahadur—second sack of Chitor—its destruction—Chitor regained by the Rajputs—Humayun's visit to the fort—observations on Humayun's inaction.

Chapter IV. UDAI SINGH AND AKBAR : THE TRAGIC END OF CHITOR (1536—1572 A. D.) 59—81

Vikram's murder and usurpation of Vanbir—his attempt to murder Uda—Panna's bold action—Udai Singh at Kumbhalgarh—Copper-plate grants and his time—Udai Singh's accession—formal occupation of Chitor by Sher Shah—Sakta and Akbar—sack of Chitor—Udai Singh leaves the fort on the decision of the Council of War—Justification of his act—Jaimal and Patta's heroic actions—Jauhar—fall of the fort—causes of the fall of the fort—order for a massacre by Akbar—criticism of the orders—new strategy.

Chapter V. PRATAP AND AKBAR : IMPERIALISM VERSUS LOVE OF LOCAL FREEDOM ( 1572—1597 A. D. ) 82—121

Udai's death—Pratap's early career—his accession—unification policy—Akbar's grand scheme of imperialism—Pratap and Clan interest—Akbar and three missions sent to Mewar—Man Singh at Udai Sagar, an episode—Man Singh sent against Pratap—battle of Haldighati—plan of the battle—various stages of the battle—Mughal flight—Mughals' re-engagement—Pratap encircled—his flight and justification of his action—Chetak's fall—Sakta's interview not a reality—Pratap's tactics and confinement of the enemies at Gogunda—other expeditions sent by Akbar—the capture of Kumbhalgarh—Pratap's position in Magra—episode of Pratap's letter to Akbar—reversal of imperial power—the Rajput conquest of Mewar as deduced from copper-plates—death of Pratap—character and policy of Pratap—his place in history.

Chapter VI. AMAR SINGH AND JAHANGIR: WAR AND PEACE (1597-1920 A.D.) 122-141

Amar's accession—his early measures of reform—period of preparation—Salim and Mewar—story of Ontala examined—Chundawats and Saktawats—Jahangir's accession and renewal of strong

policy—Sagar given Chitor—Rajput victory at Deobari—Khamnor etc.—Parviz and his attempt against the Rana—Parviz called back—Jagannath left in Mewar—his failure—Mahabat Khan sent against the Rana—Khurram was given full command of the forces—Rana followed from place to place—Rajput nobles and Kr. Karan bent upon making an end of the war—Amar Singh had no other alternative but to come to terms—Amar's letter to Khan-i-Khanan—terms of the treaty—justification of Amar's peace—Amar's last days based on original sources—estimate—results of peace.

Chapter VII. SHAH JAHAN IN MEWAR : HIS POLICY AS EMPEROR (1620-1652 A. D.) 142-152

Khurram's revolt—Khurram as a refugee at Karan's Court—various places where the prince was lodged—help received from Mewar—Shah Jahan in Mewar—Jagat Singh's hostile attitude—Shah Jahan's attitude—Shah Jahan evades hostility—Rajput power—observations on the new Rajput policy—Jagat Singh's reforms and grants.

Chapter VIII. RAJ SINGH AND AURANGZIB :

REACTION AND WAR (1652-1707 A. D.) 153-182

Raj Singh's accession—his early achievements—war of succession—Dara and Aurangzib court the Rana—Rupmati's letter to Raj Singh—Raj Singh's fidelity to the Mughal power—Aurangzib's character—his reactionary views—Jaziya and no opposition by the Rana—the so-called Raj Singh's letter to Aurangzib—Ajit Singh helped—Rathors and Sisodias stood side by side—chief cause of war—Aurangzib's plan to ruin Mewar--Raj Singh's military defences—Aurangzib at Deobari—Udaipur ruined—Rajputs and their retaliations—Jai Singh's accession—Akbar turned as ally of the Rajputs—Akbar deserted by the Rajputs due to the clever move of Aurangzib—Akbar escorted to the Deccan—Jai Singh makes peace—farmans—observations of the peace—Mughal retaliations and their result—estimate of the Rana—wars and the changed outlook of the Rajputs—consequences of wars.

Chapter IX. CONCLUSION 183-202

Vitality of the Rajputs—tradition, a source of power--concentration of power in the hands of the Rana—willing help of the people and the nobility—devo-

tion to Ekalingji—unfortunate results of wars—political institutions and the Mughal influence—revenue—justice—panchayats—court life and foreign influence—an era of peace—age of Rajput Renaissance—new architecture in Mewar—development of literature, prose, poetry, language, painting, calligraphy etc.

Chapter X. BIBLIOGRAPHY 203—235

A. Persian Chronicles.
B. Letters and Farmans.
C. Inscriptions :
(a) Sanskrit; (b) Mewari and Hindi.
D. Letters, Literature and Khyats.
E. Paintings.
F. Modern works :
(a) Hindi, (b) English.
G. Journals and Reviews.
H. Imperial Gazetteers.
I. Maps.

APPENDIX I. ... 236
APPENDIX II. ... 236
APPENDIX III. ... 237
APPENDIX IV. ... 237
APPENDIX V. ... 238
APPENDIX VI. ... 238
APPENDIX VII. ... 240–248

APPENDIX VIII. ... 249
APPENDIX IX. ... 259
APPENDIX X. ... 264
APPENDIX XI. ... 265
APPENDIX XII. ... 265
APPENDIX XIII. ... 265
APPENDIX XIV. ... 265
INDEX ... 266
CORRIGENDA ... 271

## LIST OF MAPS AND SKETCHES

No. PAGE

1. Physical features--Mewar 1
2. Mewar in 1527 A. D. 8
3. Battle of Khanua 35
4. Mewar in 1567 A. D. 59
5. Akbar's invasions on Chitor 71
6. Battle of Haldighati. 82
7. Man Singh's march from Ajmer to Haldighati 91
8. Pratap's route 93
9. Positions at Haldighati 96
10. Mewar in 1614 A. D. 122
11. Mewar in 1679 A. D. 153
12. Aurangzib's invasion 171

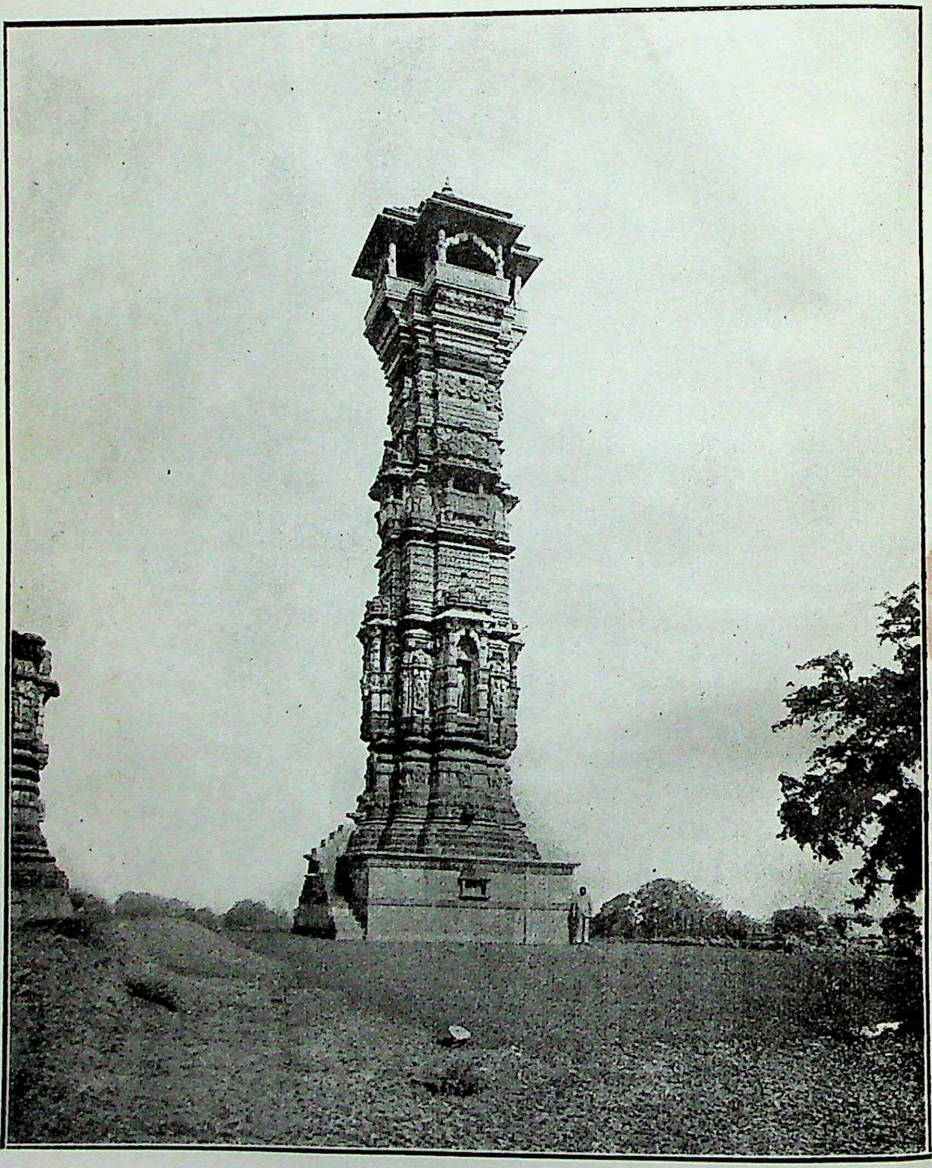
## LIST OF PLATES

1. Tower of victory 1
2. Rana Sanga 13
3. Ajja 38
4. Udai Sagar 63
5. Jaimal 69
6. Fort of Chitor 75
7. Patta 76
8. A general view where Jauhar was committed 78
9. Rana Pratap. 84
10. Haldighati, the Thermopylae of Mewar 94
11. Battle of Haldighati 100
12. Chetak ka Chabutra near Balicha 102

13. Fort of Kumbhalgarh 111
14. Pratap's Cenotaph at Bandoli 118
15. Armoury of Maharana Pratap 120
16. Saddle of Chetak 120
17. Rana Amar Singh 124
18. Khurram's palace at Jagamandir 145
19. Khurram's prayer palace at Jagamandir—now called Kapuriya Baba 145
20. Rana Raj Singh 154
21. Jai Samudra 182
22. Khurram's Turban 195
23. Jagmandir Palace 196
24. Jagdish Temple 198
25. Engraving at Jagadish Temple 198
26. Raj Samudra 198
27. Raj Samudra Nawchowki 198
28. Raj Samudra Nawchowki 198
29. Jai Samudra 200
30. Chhoti Chitrasali 202

# ABBREVIATIONS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Annals | ... | Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan. |
| A. S. B. | ... | Asiatic Society of Bengal. |
| Bib. Ind. | ... | Bibliotheca Indica Series. |
| C. H. I. | ... | Cambridge History of India. |
| C. O. U. | ... | Commissioner's Office, Udaipur. |
| Elliot | ... | Elliot and Dowson. (The History of India as told by its own Historians). |
| Firishta | ... | Tarikh-i-Firishta. |
| I. G. | ... | Imperial Gazetteer of India. |
| I. H. R. C. | ... | Indian Historical Records Commission. |
| J. R. A. S. | ... | Journal of Royal Asiatic Society. |
| J. B.O. R. S. | ... | Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society. |
| Muntakhab | ... | Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh. |
| Muslim Rule | ... | Muslim Rule in India. |
| P. T. | ... | Persian Text. |
| R. A. S. | ... | Royal Asiatic Society. |
| R. and B. | ... | Rogers and Beveridge. |
| S. B. L. | ... | Saraswati Bhandar Library, Udaipur. |
| U. R. I. | ... | Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas. |



Tower Of Victory

## CHAPTER I

# INTRODUCTION

Mewar,[1] the land of the heroic Guhilots,[2] has a romantic history that has hardly any parallel elsewhere. Its traditions and sober history have preserved the memory of the valour and exploits of her kings and commoners in defence of their home and hearth, religion and culture for a thousand years and invested it with an uniqueness which is all its own. This peculiar character of the country bids one to pause a little to examine some of the salient features of the land, the life of the people and their social institutions which rendered the inhabitants of Mewar such formidable enemies of the Mughal power.

The extent and natural condition of the country demands the first consideration. Prior to the Mughal conquest the nominal extent of Mewar had varied from time to time of which we have very little accounts. In the early days of its power and prosperity its limits touched

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[1] Originally it was termed as 'MEDPAT'. The earliest reference to this word is found in a fragmentary piece of inscription, V.S. 1000 originally belonging to the Adivarah temple of Ahar, now it has been removed to Maharana Bhupal College, Udaipur. The next reference is found in the Photograph of the inscription (No. 30/126) dated the 15th of the bright-half of the Kartik, V.S. 1242 in the Commissioner's office, Udaipur, recently discovered by me.

[2] **GUHILOTS :** Guhilot is the Rajasthani word for Sanskrit words like Guhilputra, Gobhilputra, and Gohilya. After the name of Gohilya (566 A.D.) the house of this dynasty is fitly termed as Guhila Vanash, in the association of the name of the Chief progenitor of this dynasty. The reference to Guhil is made in the inscription of Aparajit of V.S. 718. (Bengal Asiatic Society Journal, 1935, P., 122; Epig, Indica, Vol.IV P.31; Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report, 1920-21 P. 34). It furnishes the names of Guhil, Bhoj, Mahendra, Shil and Aparajit,

Bayana in the north-east, Rewakanta and Mahikanta in the south, Palanpur in the west and Malwa in the South-east.[3] The repeated raids of the Turks, the Mughals and the Marathas nipped up the large dimension of Mewar into a narrow space between 23.49′ to 25.58′ north, latitude and 73.1' to 75.49' longitude reducing its area to 12,691 sq. miles.[4] At present it is a Commissioner's Division in the State of Rajasthan.

This narrow and secluded territory has peculiar physical features which played an important part in shaping its history, and which may conveniently be discussed under the heads, western mountain chain, eastern plateau, southern mountains and forests and central plain..

The western mountain chain, the continuation of the Aravalli hills, which nature seemed to have placed as Mewar's permanent bulwark and boundary, engirdles the western skirts of Mewar from Diver in the north to Dewal in the south. Its highest peak is 4,315 feet at Jargas, near Kumbhalgarh.[5] These mountains have several passes, such as, Deosuri-nal, Jilwara-nal and Hatigudon-ki-nal, the only passes through which this area can be traversed. From this mountain chain numerous streams issue and make the low country the granary of Mewar.

The eastern plateau is a hilly tract lower than the mountainous region of the west. Nowhere it is

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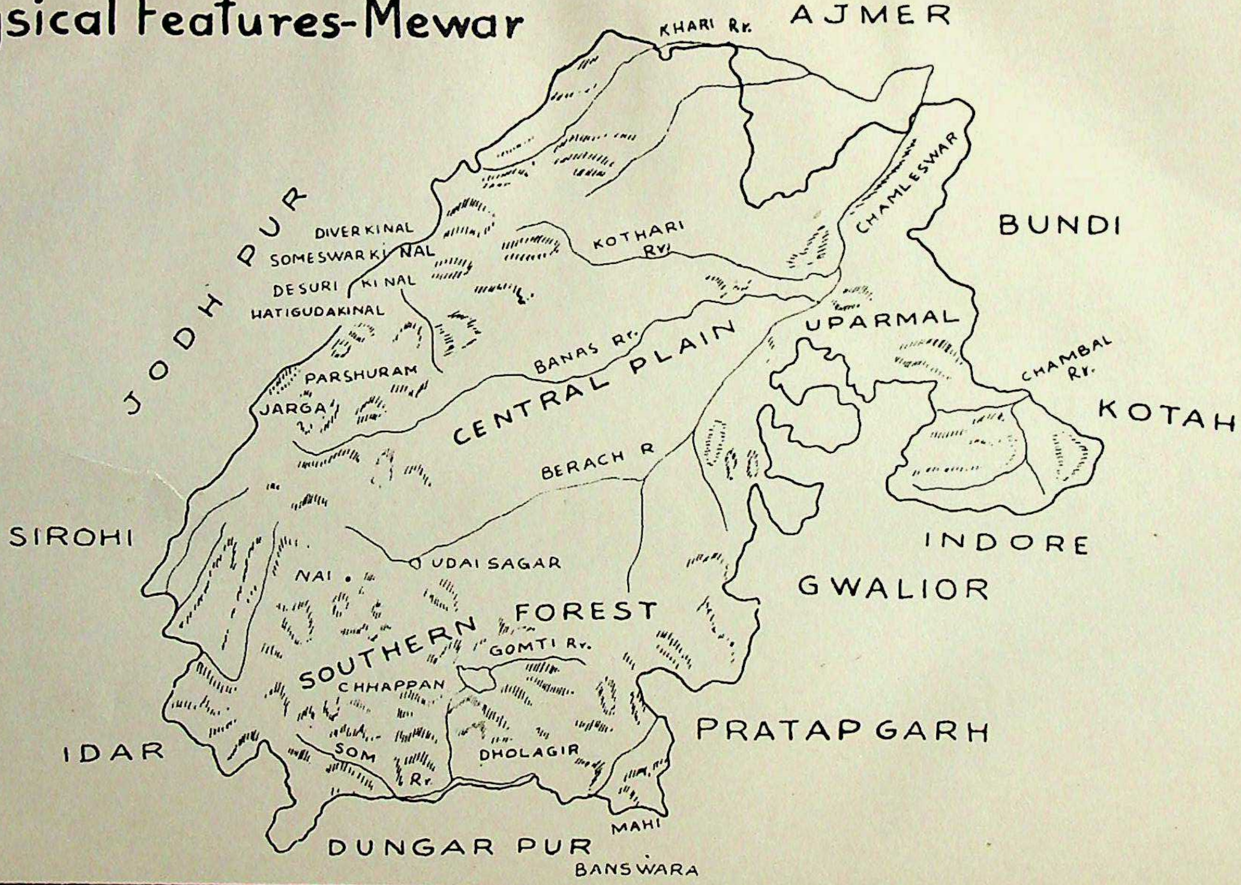
3. Imperial Gazetteer of India-Rajputana P. 111.
4. Imperial Gazetteer of India-Rajputana P. 107.
5. **KUMBHALGARH**: A fortress in the western border of the Udaipur Division, situated in 25.9' N. and 73.35 E. about 40 miles north of Udaipur City. It stands on a rocky hill, 3,568 ft. above sea-level. The fort is named after Rana Kumbha, who built it between 1443 and 1458 on the site of a still more ancient castle which tradition ascribes to Samprati, a Jain prince of the 2nd century B.C. (Imperial Gazetteer of India, Rajputana P. 139 and G. N. Sharma: Maharana Bhupal College, Magazine, Vol. X, PP. 7-10).

# Physical Features-Mewar


KHARI Rr.
AJMER
CHAMLESWAR
BUNDI
JODHPUR
DIVERKINAL
SOMESWARKINAL
DESURI KINAL
HATIGUDAKINAL
KOTHARI Rv.
UPARMAL
BANAS Rr.
CENTRAL PLAIN
CHAMBAL Rr.
KOTAH
PARSHURAM
JARGA
BERACH R
SIROHI
INDORE
UDAI SAGAR
NAI
GWALIOR
FOREST
SOUTHERN
GOMTI Rv.
CHHAPPAN
PRATAPGARH
IDAR
SOM Rr.
DHOLAGIR
MAHI
DUNGARPUR
BANSWARA

more than 2,000 feet above the sea level. This part of the country is also called 'uparmal',[6] a fertile plateau which attracted the Marathas to carry on their wanton aggression on Mewar through these elevated plains.

The southern forests and hills constitute the Chhappan[7] and the Magra Districts of Mewar. They are full of jungles, low hills, ridges and small towns in between the valleys. They are rich in mineral and forest products. The successes of the Ranas[8] in defending their homeland against the enemy were largely due to the resources and richness of this region.

From these western mountain chains and hilly tracts arise several rivers of which the Khari is the first to attract our attention. It serves as a boundary line between Mewar and Ajmer Merwara. The river Banas is the next which flows down to the central plain and waters the major part of the low land of Mewar. It played a great part in the Mughal Period as on its bank the great battle of Haldighati was fought. It must have figured prominently in the determination of the routes to the interior of Mewar by the invaders. Then come the rivers like Gambhiri, Bedach and Ahar which happen to be the many rivers over which the greater bulk of ancient towns stand. They supply rich soil to the low country. They make the central part of Mewar fertile and well adapted to all kinds of agricultural purposes.

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[6] UPARMAL : It is the hilly plain comprising of Bijolia and Mandalgarh Districts. The soil of the region is so rich that abundant wheat is produced every year without artificial irrigation.

[7] CHHAPPAN : It is the productive part of Sarara and Jaisamand.

[8] It is the hereditary title borne by the rulers of Mewar. It appears to derive its origin from the Sanskritized word 'Rajanya'. The title of 'Rana' was adopted from the time of Hamir who belonged to the Rana line of Sisodia.
( For details see the Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society, Vol. III, 1914 P. 46. )

From the climatic standpoint, Mewar, leaving aside the fact that the climate may agree with the natives, air and water are uncongenial, specially to the foreigners. The climatic conditions grow unwholesome as we descend from- the north to the south. In short, unhealthy climate and heavy water on the whole had, however, one redeeming feature. It proved to be an important factor, weighing in favour of the local inhabitants and fighters, in course of their numerous conflicts with the Mughals.

These geographical conditions exercised the most potent influence. The situation of the mountain chain in the west, east and the south made the country inaccessible from three sides. The only normal point of contact with the outside world was along the north-east through which Mewar naturally came within the pale of Imperial foreign policy. Similarly the courses and duration of the Mewar-Mughal contest were greatly determined by the physical features as stated above. The geographical conditions determined the routes to the imperial marches and the retaliations of the Rajputs. Many a time it so happened that due to the position of certain hills, forests and passes the Mughals were seriously hampered in their progress. Physical difficulties obliged the Mughals to establish outposts to keep the line of communication open and safe for food supply and the supplies of materials of war.

These geographical features proved a great help rather than hinderance to the native fighters. As they were sure of nature's protection they adopted simple plans of operations. In their mountainous fastness they had developed a special kind of warfare. Sheer tactics were adopted to hide from or avoid open fight. Even in the event of their defeat as in the case of Haldighati, they adopted a new policy of Guerilla warfare and tried to harass the enemy by cutting off his food supply. By means of night-attacks and surprises they could fight against heavy odds for a considerable period.

Apart from the natural defences Mewar had also its peculiar military resources of which extensive fortification was the first of its kind. For purposes of military defences a large number of forts were made at strategic places, as Mandalgarh, Chitor and Kumbhalgarh. These forts were spacious enough to keep a large number of people for a long time and a large stock of other materials of war. For sometime agricultural pursuits could also be carried out inside the forts. But for a longer period of time these forts also proved suicidal to their military power. A successful siege, as it was in the case of Akbar, was likely to tire their energy and compel them to surrender or perish.

These natural and artificial defences made inevitable the physical isolation of the land and it seemed as if the world had forgotten it and it had forgotten the world. In such an isolation the mass of the people developed a spirit of Spartan simplicity, disciplined life and love for traditions and glory of their ancestors. Virtues like courage, perseverance, straightforwardness, sense of service and devotion to their clan and little patch of land, became a second nature with them.

Equally patent were the virtues of a Rajputani who showed wonderful courage and dogged determination in times of peril. The true mark of honour and chastity of these great women is discernible in the frightful 'Jauhars' when they embraced death with courage and hope, when the relentless invaders were encircling their homes and when all opportunities of deliverance were lost.

Equally important in the field of military resources was the influence of the aboriginal race of Bhils[9] who formed the greater bulk of the population of the southern part of Mewar and who formed the real infantry of the country. They were and are still living in a state of savage independence. They never allow an enemy to trespass their country without inflicting serious injuries on him. A war-cry from a Bhil lad would cause hundreds of Bhils to assemble and dash forward against the enemy. Their main fighting instruments consist of a small sword or bows and arrows. They were so morally and physically well qualified for war, and especially for war in so wild and rugged a country as their own that the chiefs of Mewar were never short of man-power.

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[9] 'Bhilla' is the Sanskritized form. The word Bhil is by some derived from the Dravidian word from a bow, which is the characteristic weapon of the tribe, and by other: from the root of the Sanskrit verb meaning "to pierce, shoot or kill", in consequence of their proficiency as archers. Another version is that the first Bhil was created

Mewar in mediaeval times as we would see had an active co-operation of the people of all grades, classes and creeds. They all strove to share in safeguarding the country's interest and actively co-operated with their rulers in facing the Muslim invasions. Their bodily vigour, hardihood, patience and courage were valuable

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by Mahadeo, breathing life into a doll of clay. The Bhagwat Puran says that the tribe is descended from a mythical Raja called Vena. In the Adi Parva of the Mahabharata, mention is made of a Nishadha or Bhil Eklavya who had acquired great mastry over the bow. However, in Sanskrit literature the term 'Bhilla' seems to occur for the first time about 600 A. D. Tod calls them Vanputras or children of the forest. The tribe is subdivided into a large number of clans. They have always been independent, freedom loving, fond of fighting, shy, excitable and restless; to these may be added truthfulness, hospitality, obedience to recognized authority and confidence in and respect for the 'Sarkar'. The principal failing of the tribe is an inordinate thirst for liquor. They live in 'Pals'. The apparel of a Bhil is a dirty rag round his head a loincloth of limited length. They form more than 11½% of the entire population of Mewar. Their real home is in the south and south-west of this country. ( For greater details see—Rajputana Gazetteer—Mewar Residency—1908 : Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. X. 1924 and Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. XLIV Part I, 1875—PP 347—388).

military assets. Practically, therefore, the whole race was military race-ever ready to defend the cause of their country.

Such were the physical and human resources of Mewar on the eve of the momentous history which is told in the chapters following.

## CHAPTER II

# RANA SANGA AND BABUR; A CONTEST FOR SUPREMACY IN NORTHERN INDIA.

## (1526—1528 A. D.)

The secluded valley, and plain of Mewar which lay cosily among the gigantic mountains; nourished a race of rulers who filled their energetic roll extending to centuries in an illustrious manner by offering tremendous resistance and pouring a profusion of blood for the cause of their country against the Arab and the Turkish invaders, who were struggling for the installation of their supremacy in Hindustan. In this respect Bapa's name occupies a pre-eminent place in the annals of Mewar. He is credited by the Khyats[1] to have successfully repelled the Arab invaders in the 8th century A.D. The event seems to refer to the incursion of a later Arab general of Sindh, probably Junaid, into Kathiawar and Gujarat[2]. Khuman sustained the

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[1] MS. Nensi's Khyat, folio 2 (b) and MS. Sisod Vanshavali folio 7 (b) make mention of his offensive wars against Muslims.

MS. Amar Kavya Vanshavali affirms his conquest up to Sindh :

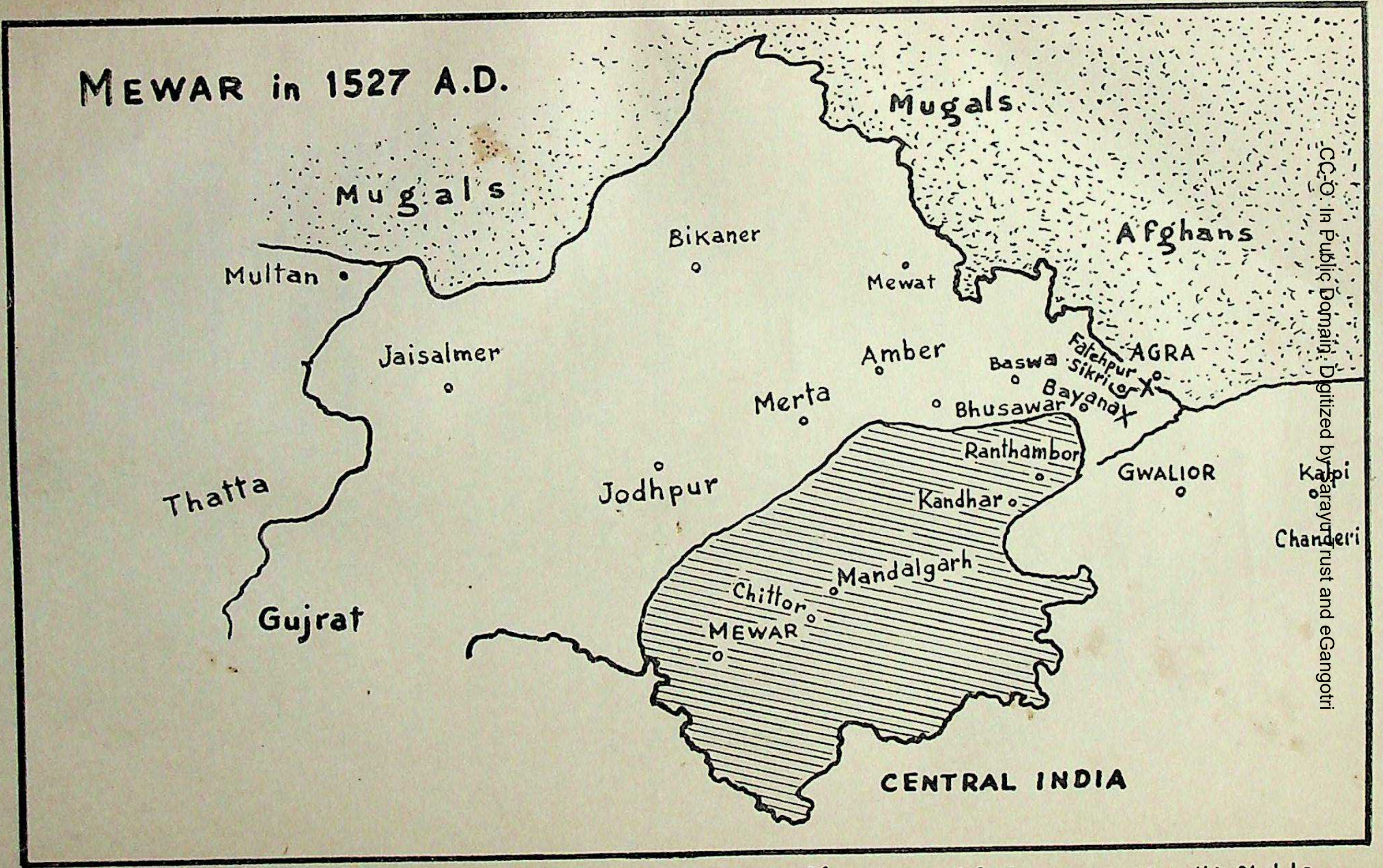
'सिंधोस्तु सिंधोस्तट उत्तरस्य नद्याश्च वाष्पस्य भूयास्ति सीमा'

A popular song in MS Rao Ratan Singh's Vacha-nika, folio 80 (b) indicates his conquest up to sea, as:

'रावल सात समद बीच कीदी सीम गढ़ गजपत गंजीया'

[2] The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III P. 8. Mewar's south western limits touched Gujarat and it is likely that Bapa extended co-operation to the rulers of that region against the Arab invader, who was consequently obliged to retreat to Sindh.

The doubtful reading of Chitor and Jaipur as given in Chachnama, Elliot, Vol. I. P. 169 at least shows that Rajputs in the east were very formidable.


MEWAR in 1527 A.D.
Mugals
Mugals
Afghans
Multan
Bikaner
Mewat
Jaisalmer
Amber
AGRA
Fatehpur Sikri
Basswa
Bayana
Merta
Bhusawar
Ranthambor
GWALIOR
Kalpi
Thatta
Jodhpur
Kandhar
Chanderi
Mandalgarh
Chittor
MEWAR
Gujrat
CENTRAL INDIA

▨ Mewar ☐ Feudatory or Allied powers ▩ Mugals & Afghans. X Battlefields.

warlike reputation of his predecessors in the 9th century* by making a common cause with the rulers of Gujarat in checking the Arab expansion beyond Multan and Sindh.[3] Hammir (1326-1364 A.D.) redeemed his country from foreign control and left a name that is still honoured as that of a most gallant prince who bequeathed an extensive and established dominion to his son.[4] Kshetra Singh who succeeded about the year 1364 A.D. worthily upheld his station by capturing and annexing Ajmer, Jahazpur, Mandalgarh and Chhappan and by obtaining a victory over Ami Shah, alias Dilawar Khan Ghori of Malwa.[5] In 1382 A.D. Lakha

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It is clear, therefore, that Bapa must have played his heroic part in checking the expansion of the Arabs of Sindh.

*Khaman II might have fought against the generals of Almamu (813—833 A. D.) who were continuing their invasions on Sindh. Khaman II ruled Mewar from 812 to 836 A.D.

[3] Tod: Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I. p. 294. MS. Rao Ratan Singh's Vachanika, folio 100 (b) refers to his victory over the general of Sindh.

‘षुमाण रावल बापा तणै सीध राव भड भेडीया’

MS. Rawal Ranaji ki vat, F. 5 (b) also refers to his victory against the Arabs.

[4] The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society—Bombay branch, Vol. XXXIII. P.50.

“तौरूष्कामित मुण्ड मण्डलमिथ : संघट्ट वाचालिता’

[5] (a) Kumbhalgarh Inscription, V. 198; Aklingmahatmya; Raj varanan. V. 103 (b) Bhavnagar Inscriptions, P.119. (c) Shringi Rishi Inscription, V.7.

५— (अ) हाडा वटी देशपतीन् स जित्वा तन्मंडलं चात्मवशी चकार।
तदत्रचित्रं खलु यत्करांतं तदेव तेषामिह यो बभंज

(ब) दंडा खंडित चंड मंडल कर प्राचीर माचूर्ण यत्
तन्मध्योद्धत धीर योधनिधनं निर्म्माय निर्म्मायधी :।
हाडामंडल मुंड खंडन धृत स्फूर्ज्जत्क बंधोद्धुर
कृत्वा संगर मात्म साद्ध सुमतीं श्री खेतसिंहो व्यधात् ।।३१।।

ascended the throne and maintained the traditional hostility to Muslim arms, and patronage of arts and prosecution of works of public utility.[6] Mokal the next successor distinguished himself by winning a victory over Firoz Khan of Nagore about 1428 A.D.[7]. The glory of Mewar reached its pinnacle when the leadership of Guhilots was assigned to Kumbha who succeeded to the throne in 1433 A.D. He earned fame by his victories over the enemies of his race, by building a line of gigantic forts to strengthen the defences of Mewar and by keeping a political and military balance between the provincial kingdoms of Malwa and Gujarat[8].

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(स) ढिल्ली चारू पुरे श्वरेण बलिना स्पृष्टोपि नो पाणिना
राज्ञा श्रीमददावदीति विलसन्नाम्ना गज स्वामिना ॥
सोपि चेत्र महीभुजा निजभुज प्रौढ प्रतापाद हो
भग्नो विश्रुत मंडला कृति गढो जित्वा समस्तान रीन् ॥७॥

6. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II. P. 415; (a) Bhavanagar Inscriptions P. 98. (b) Eklinga Inscription, VV. 39-40.

६— (अ) नीति प्रीति भुजार्जितानि बहुशो रत्नानि यत्नादयं
दायं दायभमायया ऽयतनुत ध्वस्तांतरायां गयां ।
तीर्थानां करमाकलय्य विधिना न्यत्रापि युंक्ते धनं
प्रौढ ग्रावनिबद्ध तीर्थ सरसी जाग्रद्य शोंभोरुह : ॥३८॥
"संग्रामे लुंटितानां प्रतिनृपमहसां राशयस्ते किमेते'

(ब) लक्षं सुवर्णानि ददौ द्विजेभ्यो लक्षस्तुलादान विधानदक्षः
रातत् प्रमाणं विधिरित्य तोसा वजेन सायो (यु) ज्य सुखं
सिषेवे । ४० ॥

7. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II. P. 417. (a) Shringi. Rishi Inscription, V. 14. (b) Bhavanagar Inscription, V. 44. P.120.

७-(अ) यस्याग्रे समभूत्पलायन परः पेरोज खान : स्वयम स्वयम्...॥१४॥
(ब) कोणे क्रूणित कर्णधार विभव : श्रीमोकलो भूप्पव :
प्रोढिंनाव मुपेयुपो जलधर : पीरोज पृथ्वीभुजः...॥४४॥

8. (a) Kirtistambh Inscription, V.S. 1517.

But the Rana's life was cut short in 1468 A.D. by a wanton assassination contrived by Uda (the inordinately tyrannical son of Kumbha) who bore wild ambition and black passion. The patricide could enjoy the sovereignty of Mewar for a short time only and failed to erase the stain of his name as Raimal wrested the sceptre from the impious hands of his murderous brother in 1473 A.D. Raimal walked in the footsteps of his forefathers by invoking hostility with the Muslim states with success. But his glories were shrouded under disorder occasioned by the intestine feuds[9] of his family threatening seriously the

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(b) Kumbhalgarh Inscription, VV. 184, 269-270.

Annual Report of the Archaelogical Survey of India, 1907-1908, PP. 214-215.
Bayley : History of Gujarat, P. 149.
Fergusson : History of Indian Architecture P. 253.
Sarda : Maharana Kumbha, PP. 93-106, 120-162.
Vir Vinod, Vol. I. P. 334.

८— (अ) ‘अदंडयद्यो यवनानन्तान् विडंबयन्गुर्जर भूमि भर्तु : ।।२०।।
‘असौ शिरो मंडन चंद्रतारं विचित्रकूटं किल चित्रकूटं....।।२६।।

(ब) श्री विक्रमात्पंचदशाधिकेस्मिन्
वर्षे शते पंचदशे व्यतीते ।
चैत्रासिते नंगतिथौ व्यधायि
श्री कुँभमेरूर्वसुधाधिपेन ।।१८४।।
महोमदो युक्ततरो न चैषः
स्वस्वामिघातेन धनार्जन त्वात् ।
इतीव सारंगपुं विलोड्य
महंमदं त्याजितवान् महंमदं ।।२६६।।
दतद्दग्धपुराग्नि वाडवमसौ यन्मालवांभोनिधिं
क्षोणीशः पिवतिस्म खड्गचुलुकैस्तस्मादगस्त्यः स्फुटम ।।२७०।।

[9] For the conflict between Sanga and his brothers see Ojha's Udaipur Rajya-ka-Itihas, Vol. I. PP. 331-342, and Sarda's Maharana Sanga PP. 13.15.44, etc.

Its brief summary is as follows :—

internal security and finances[10] of the state.

Happily these family feuds and internal disturbances were in no way perilous to the external prestige of Mewar on account of the absence of any paramount power or formidable enemy in the neighbourhood who could effectively interfere and turn the internal chaos of the country to his advantage. The Lodi Kingdom presided over by Sultan Sikandar was not powerful enough to interfere in the affairs of Rajasthan. The provincial kingdoms which had been once part and parcel of the Sultanate of Delhi were at this period claiming equality with it and this had resulted in a prolonged struggle among them. The kingdoms of Malwa and Gujarat were particularly active and their rulers like Mahmud II, and Muzaffar Shah II were casting their eyes on Delhi.[11]

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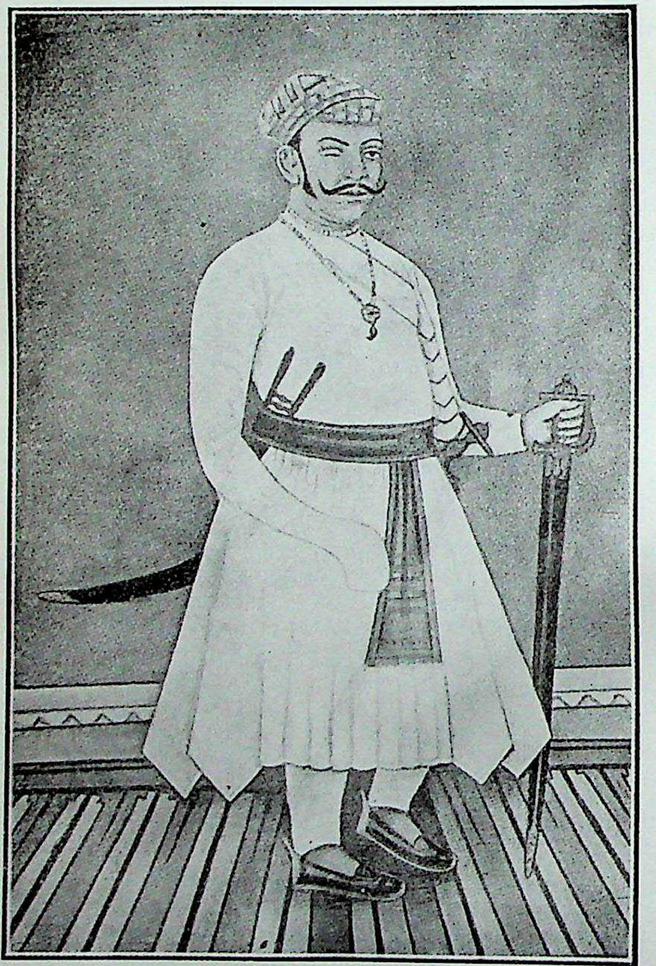
While Raimal was reigning over Mewar, his three sons Sanga, Prithviraj and Jaimal who were characteristically brave and ambitious were dreaming of acquiring the sovereignty of Mewar. The dissention for power became an open secret among them. Once while the three brothers and Suraj Mal their uncle were discussing their prospects, they unanimously decided to entrust their future to an omen. Hence they repaired to the abode of Charna Devi, near Nahar Magra the tiger's mount. Prithviraj and Jaimal who were over ambitious entered the shrine first and seated themselves on a pallet. Sanga followed them and took his seat on the panther's hide belonging to the prophetess. His uncle squatted with one knee resting thereon. Before Prithviraj could disclose their mission the sybil predicted the sovereignty to Sanga and a portion of it to the uncle. This decree made Prithviraj restless who drew his sword and aimed it towards Sanga to falsify the omen. But Sanga was saved by the interposition of Surajmal with a loss of an eye. As a consequence of these quarrels Sanga exiled himself for fear of his life, Prithviraj was banished by his father and Jaimal was slain.

10. I have come across a large number of forged copper-plates of Rana Raimal's time in the Records branch of the Commissioner's office, Udaipur. These plates show mismanagement of the finances of Mewar.

11. The Cambridge History of India, III, PP. 243-245 and 252.



Rana Sanga

At this juncture, however, in the year 1508 A.D.[12] the destiny of Mewar was entrusted to Sangram Singh I, better known as Sanga[13] in the annals of Mewar. By virtue of his position and breeding he was not merely content to uphold the traditional glory and glamour of his ancestors but to enhance the prestige of his race by rallying under the crimson standard of the Sisodia Rajas and Rais of great eminence. Before describing his early power it is worthwhile to say a word or two concerning the personality and the previous history of the man who was destined to be the acknowledged leader of Hindu India of the first half of the 16th century.

In person he was above middle height, but of great muscular strength. Princely lustre was not wanting in spite of eight scars on his body. His head was small, symmetrically shaped, combining the alertness and compactness characteristic of the soldier, with the capacious brow furrowed prematurely with the horizontal lines of thoughts denoting the statesman and the sage. He had lost one eye and one arm in his warlike actions.[14] At a tender age he had taken part in a duel against his brothers and successfully escaped the sword of Prithviraj. Thereafter like an adventurer he roamed in disguise through Godwar and Ajmer Districts and found shelter under the roof of a Parmar Chief in an honourable manner at Srinagar near Ajmer. Throughout this period (1504-1508 A. D.)[15] he remained in concealment and led a life of adversity.

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[12] Mr. Ojha in his Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas, Vol. I. P. 347 rejects V.S. 1565 (1508 A. D.) as the date of his accession on the ground that Muhanot Nensi gives V.S. 1566 (1509 A.D.) But a copper-plate No. 45 that I have discovered recently in the Records branch of the Commissioner's office, Udaipur, and which was granted by Rana Sanga to a Brahmin named Purba on 4th of the bright-half of Asad, V.S. 1565 (2nd July, 1508) clearly proves that Sanga was the ruler of Mewar in that year. Hence the year of his accession must have been V.S. 1565. (1508 A.D.).

[13] Sanga is the 'dingal' form of Sangram which in Sanskrit means battle.

[14] The description of the Rana's person is based on a portrait in possession of the 'Jotdan', the private picture gallery of the Rana. It may not be contemporary; nevertheless it reflects the popular opinion of Sanga's features and personality.

Thus the brotherly broil and his early vicissitudes of life proved blessings in disguise by casting his character in a mould of bravery and heroism. He utilised the period of exile in silently observing men around him and pondering over plans of action which go to make the history of his country noble and glorious. He, after his accession, fulfilled the promise of his early youth, and took steps to strengthen Mewar's financial[16] and military resources[17] in order to embark on a career of conquest. His ambition was stirred up by the traditional heroism of his race.

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[15] The period of his concealment has been deduced from two inscriptions of the temple of Rupnarain of V.S. 1561 (1504 A.D.) which bear the fact that Rathor Bida and Rathor Raipal died fighting there with their Rajputs for saving Sanga's life. This is the last event in the history of the conflict between Sanga and his brother. We, therefore, safely assume that hereafter Sanga left Mewar and led a life of adversity. As he was called back a little before the death of his father which occurred in 1508 A.D. (vide Udaipur Rajya-ka-Itihas, Vol.I. P. 343), his life of concealment must have ended in that year i.e. 1508 A.D.

[16] He increased his financial resources by means of collecting ransom, taxes and custom duty from many Rajas who were under his political sphere of influence. A copper-plate grant No. 26/144 (2) Jagir-file-S. 93 of V.S. 1582 (1525 A.D.) which I have recently discovered in the records branch of the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur shows that he had deputed officers for the purpose of conducting collection work. The plate also shows that the collector who successfully managed to send the sum to his treasury was rewarded by the grant of a village named Bateri (in Kumbhalgarh district) by the Rana.

[17] His help to Raimal (Vir Vinod, I. 354-355) in obtaining the throne of Idar was directed towards making his position strong against Gujarat and Malwa.

He opened his career with fair prospects of success. From 1514-1520 A. D. he routed the forces of Sultan of Gujarat, Muzaffar Shah II, from place to place[18] and is said to have gained eighteen pitched battles against the Sultans of Delhi and Malwa. In one of these he was opposed by Ibrahim Lodi in person at Ghatoli, in which the imperial forces were defeated with great slaughter, leaving a prisoner of the blood royal to grace the triumph of Chitor.[19] In 1519 A. D. he defeated and

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[18] Mirat-i-Sikandari Vol. I. (S.B.L.) P. 140. (P.T.)
MS. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Vol. I. (S.B.L.) PP. 101-103.
MS.Amar Kavya Vanshavali, F. 30 (a)

"मुद़फ्फरं गुर्ज्जरेशं जित्त्वा तद् शिविरं दहत्
व (बं) गादसदाबाद विजयं व्यतनोद्बली"

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXIV P. 68.
Forbes : Rasmala PP. 382-385.
Sarda. Maharana Sanga, P. 82-83.
Bayley : History of Gujarat, P. 269-270

[19] Baburnama (Beveridge) II, PP.593 and 561.
Tod: Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan Vol. I. P. 349.

K. Shyamal Das. Vir Vinod, Vol. I. P. 354.
Ojha : Udaipur Rajya-ka-Itihas, Vol. P. 351.
**MS.** Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana of Ahmed Yadgar (S.B.L.) F. 34(a)-36 (b), Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi of Mushtaqi, Elliot, Vol. IV, P. 548-549, and Tarikh-i-Daudi, Elliot IV 468 record Ibrahim's Victory over the Rana.

Mr. A.C. Banerji in his Rajput studies, Page 85 doubts Rana's victory and states. "In the absence of any other detail, it is impossible to verify the truth of this statement. Muslim writers do not refer to Ibrahim Lodi's coming in person or to the capture of any prisoner of the blood royal by Rana Sang."

Similarly Dr. Ishwari Prasad in his Mediaeval India, Page 454 in a footnote states that "None of our authorities except Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana, the Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi, and the Tarikh-i-Daudi mention this expedition. Nizam-uddin, Badaoni and Firishta are silent on the subject. We look in vain for a corroboration of this account in the captured the Sultan of Mandu,[20] Mahmud II and brought him to his own capital and with Rajput magnanimity dressed his wounds, attended him in person and after his recovery sent him back to Mandu, furnished with

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Rajput chronicles. That there were frequent wars between Delhi and Mewar is established by Rajput evidence. But it is very difficult to form a definite opinion about the result of these wars for neither the Rajput nor the Muslim chroniclers would record a defeat of their party".

The conclusion of the above learned historians is based on negative reasoning. Babur's version and Abul Fazl's records as stated above as well as the Rajput authorities as given below definitely mention Ibrahim's defeat and are not wholly unreliable.

Rajput sources describe the Rana's victory as follows:—
MS. Vanshavali, folio, 63 (b), 64 (a) (No. 878)

'युद्ध जीत्या बाकरोल पातसाह ल्याया था कटक
क्षेत्र घाटोली बीजीवार पातसाह थको'

MS. Surya Vansha, folio, 49 (a) and (b) (No. 827)

'जुध जीत्या वाकरोल पातिसाह ल्याया था कटक
षेत घाटोली बीजीवार पातसाह थको रह्यो सुषेत्त'

MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, folio 29. (b)

'दिल्लीश्वरादि भूपेभ्यो गृहीत्त्वा पृथिवीं बलात्'

Muhanot Nensi, page 46 also corroborates Ibrahim's defeat:

आखे आगरे जगट की जवनपुर, समर सांगे सपडाणो।
दिलडी तकी धरा धरा धक धूणे, रोस चईणो राणो ॥
'नरवर गोपाल निजलते समये सिरतर सवाई।
सुण सुरताण न कीधो सांगे मेछतणा धर माही ॥
मोकल हर सभियो योगरे थट लोह तणे रस लागो।
पूरव देश भगण पडन्ता भोतण पडवो भागो ॥'

20. Mandu or Mandugarh is a hill fortress of about 25 miles in circumference, 2079 feet high from the sea-level, and everywhere protected by battlements. It had been the capital of Malwa from (1405 to 1531 A. D.) (Archaeological Report of the year 1912-13, pp. 148-51; J.B.B. R. A. S., 1903, pp. 339-90).

an escort of one thousand horse[21]. Thus by defeating several times the rulers of Delhi, Malwa and Gujarat[22] he acquired the universal recognition of 'Kullus'[23] of the Rajput confederacy and exemplified in his person the spirit of Hindu chivalry and leadership.

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[21] A contemporary evidence of a copper-plate No. 26/144, Misal Jagir, Samvat, 93, of the 12th of the dark-half of Vaishakh, the V.S. 1576, 11th April, 1519 A. D., which I have discovered recently at Records branch of Commissioner's office, Udaipur fully establishes the point that the Sultan was surrounded by 300 Rajputs horse led by one Chundawat and captured. The Rana in order to commemorate this victorious event gave 100 Bighas of land to Trivedi Hardas, in the presence of Rawat Giriraj, Hema Kabra and one Varaj Virya who were all present in battlefield.

The following Muslim authorities also record Rana's victory over Mahmud II.
MS. Baburnama, F. 205 (b).
Mirat-i-Sikandari, ( S. B. L. ) Vol. 1. pp. 166, 167. (P.T.)
MS. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, (S. B. L.) Vol. I. P. 105.
Later writers exaggerated the Rana's triumph by saying that the Sultan was defeated and captured several times.
MS. Nensi's Khyat, Folio 6 (a).

'मांडव रो पातसाहे सांगे दोय बार पकड ने बीडीयो'

Jagnnath Raya Inscription.

'सोयं सांग मही पतिः स्मरतनुः श्री मांडवाख्यालसत
दुर्गेशं यवनेश्वर ब (ध्वा) त्यजत्सत्कृपः'

MS. Raj Ratnakar, Folio, 32 (a).

'वारत्रयं—महता बलेन मांडव्य दुर्गाधिपति निरोध्य
मुमोचितं लुंटित सर्व वित्तस्तत्साम्यतां याति धरातलेकः'

MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, Folio 30 (a).

'संस्थाप्य पद्मिनी गेहे कारायां चित्रकूटके'

MS. Surya Vanshavali, Folio 49. (b).
MS. Tawarikh Vanshavali, Folio 9. (b), 10 (a).
Mr. Sarda in his able monograph on Sanga, p. 74 rightly remarks concerning the magnanimity shown by the Rana. 'Judged by its political results, the act has proved injurious to the national cause of the Rajputs.'

[22] MS. Sisod Vanshavali, Folio 19 (a).

'दली अहमदा वाद सु फोज ३ आई जासु
जुध जीत्या हार कही आई नहीं'

Although Rana Sanga had established his fame as one of the greatest warriors of his times and had proved his worth as a ruler and statesman, he had now to meet the real adversary of his life in Babur who was in every way more than a match for him. Sanga now a veritable leader of Hindu India and the greatest living Rajput chief and leader who had succeeded in establishing sovereignty of Mewar over Rajasthan and successfully established his supremacy over Malwa and Gujarat, entertained the ambition of an arbiter in the politics of Hindustan. Besides he summed up in his life the ambition of Rajput chivalry and opposition to the foreign Muslim domination in the land. All Rajput chiefs and other indigenous princes looked to him for leading an opposition against the tottering Sultanate of

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MS. Gita Sangrah, P. 99.

“जण महैमद बंदियो सुजड से है सेन सांगा रै
मुदाफर गल माल आव ऊमराव उतारै
गुडियो ही गंजीया नग लीधत चैडे
गोपाचल इम तुहीज छुटै ते छोडै”

Bhursingh : Maharana Yash Prakash, PP. 62-65.

“सझवो सेल वाहिवो असमर धू पटवो अर नवर धरा
साहा पकड़ छोडवो सांगा हँसा खेल हमीर हरा
इब्राहीम पूरब दिसा न ऊलटै पछम मुदाफर न दै पयाण
दषणी महमाद साह न दौडे सांगा दामण बहु सुरताण”

MS. Rajratnakar, Folio 32 (a) V. II.

“बध्वा येन मुहुमुहुः किल सुरत्राणो विमुक्तो रणे
राहय्यान्वय भूषणेन महता संग्राम सिंहेन वै”

[23] Mr. Tod in his annals, Vol. I, p. 348 has used the word 'Kullus' or 'Kalas' in the sense of ball or urn which crowns

Delhi, to make short-work of it and to re-establish Hindu rule over Delhi. Politically, ideologically and emotionally Sanga was marked out for leading an opposition against Babur.

Leaving Persia and Turkey out of consideration Babur was the most notable prince in Asia, who like Sanga had passed his early life in adversity and suffered many reverses against his own kinsmen, Uzbegs, Turks and even Persians. Nevertheless without being daunted by these reverses he had eventually triumphed against his enemies and established himself at Kabul. Foiled in his designs against Farghana and Samarkand he was now meditating the conquest of Hindustan. In war, diplomacy and lofty idealism he was a leader par excellence and, therefore, the greatest adversary that Sanga had to meet in diplomacy and on the field of battle.

The conquest of north-western India and the defeat of Ibrahim at Panipat made Babur only nominally the master of central Hindustan. Before his mind's eye there were two possible rivals, the Rajputs and the Afghans. He was now faced with a dilemma as to which of the two strongly entrenched powers should be dealt with first. He, therefore, called upon a council of war at Agra[24] to help him to make up his mind on the issue and resolve the dilemma for him. The council advis-

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the pinnacle. The word 'Kullus' has not rightly been understood by Col. Tod for urn. The metaphor used by the bard as 'Kullus' or 'Kalas' is the 'dingal' form of 'Kulak,' that is 'the high-born', and not ball or urn as misunderstood by Col. Tod. In 'dingal' 'Kullus' is the corrupted form of 'Kulak'. In Raj Prashasti, canto IV, V. 21 for Pratap 'Kulakam' has been used. It is a case in instance.

'कुलकं प्रताप सिंहाय'

[24] MS. Baburnama, ( S. B. L. ) F. 224 (a).
Beveridge : Babur's Memoirs, Vol. II. PP. 530-531,
MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, Folio, 30 (6).

ed him to postpone the contest with Sanga and to meet the Afghan danger first which seemed to be more threatening than the aggression of the Rajputs. The decision had, however, to be given up soon after as Babur found the fast rising power of Sanga really more menacing than that of the Afghans. So he began to make preparations, at Agra for an onslaught against the Rana by enlisting troops of various kinds.

But to provoke war without adequate reason is against the canons of politics and Babur was fully aware of it. He, therefore, brought an allegation of breach of faith on the part of Sanga who was alleged to have deceived him by not going to his help when he was engaged against Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat. He denounces this act of Sanga in his own memoirs by stating, "while we were still in Kabul, Rana Sanga had sent an envoy to testify to his good wishes and to propose this plan; 'If the honoured Padshah will come to near Dihli from that side, I from this will move on Agra.' But I beat Ibrahim, I took Dihli and Agra, and up to now that Pagan has given no sign so ever of moving[25]."

On the contrary the Rajput version though not contemporary but nevertheless quite authentic based as it is on the daily bulletin of Rana's life taken down at the end of every day, says that it was not Sanga who sent an envoy to Kabul to propose an alliance with Babur against their common foe, Ibrahim of Delhi, but the king of Kabul who was anxious to have an ally of undoubted ability and strength during the course of his proposed expedition in an unknown country. The family priest of Mewar's ruling family whose ancestors were commissioned

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"आगरा नगर ( रे ) स्थायी बब्बरो नगरान्वित:
कृत्वा सार्द्ध (र्द्धं) प्रध:नेन विचारं चिंतयाकुल:"

[25] MS. Baburnama, ( S. B. L. ) F. 223 (a).
Beveridge ; Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II, P. 529.

to keep daily records of Rana's activities writes, "Babur, the king of Kabul in order to realise his ambition of depriving Ibrahim Lodi of his throne and establish his own sovereignty over Delhi, thought out a plan, with an object of finding an ally from the old Rajas of the country which was an unknown land to him to make an alliance with Rana Sanga who was not on good terms with the Sultan. With this end in view he sent an envoy to the Rana at Chitor with a letter requesting him to co-operate with him as he (Babur) was desirous of fighting against Ibrahim, the common enemy of both of them. He had also requested a reply setting forth the terms of agreement with him. In this letter Babur also mentioned that from that side he would march on Delhi, while the Rana should proceed against the city of Agra, so that being attacked from both the sides Ibrahim would either surrender or fly away. Hence on the advice of Silahadi the Rana complied and sent a letter to Kabul with Babur's envoy. This made Babur start for Hindustan."[26]

That the above view is not improbable will be clear from the fact that Babur was to embark on an expedition against the ruler of Delhi whose resources in men and money were far superior to those of his own and, therefore, the issue of the proposed contest was in doubt. Under these circumstances it was in Babur's interest to seek an alliance with greatest and most powerful enemy in India. In the second place Sanga did not at this time stand in need of an alliance with Babur who had yet to establish his reputation in India. Thirdly, the view that Sanga sent an envoy to Kabul goes against the Rajput and, in fact, Hindu habit of sitting on the fence and waiting to see as to which side won before deciding a line of action. Fourthly, unlike his usual practice Babur here gives no details of his alliance though he has elsewhere given the details of his agreements with Alam Khan Lodi and Dolat Khan Lodi.[27] Fifthly, it will be too much to think that Babur always stated the whole truth. Close students of Baburnama are aware how sometimes he deliberately gave wrong facts. For example, he stated more than once in positive terms that he had 12,000 men[28] all told in his fight against Ibrahim Lodi. Modern research[29], however, has shown that he had a much larger number at the field of Panipat. And finally, it has to be noted that no other contemporary writer Hindu or Muslim makes mention of Sanga's sending an ambassador to Kabul. It is a pity that all modern writers[30] have uncritically accepted Babur's version.

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[26] MS. Mewar-ka-Sankshipta Itihas, F. F. 135 (a), 136 (a). The text runs as follows:—

"जब बादशाह बाबर काबुल में राज्य करता था उसने विचारा कि भारतवर्ष का राज्य लोदी बादशाह करते हैं उनको नष्ट करके दिल्ली में अपना राज्य स्थापन करो परन्तु अज्ञात देश में जाना वहां के किसी प्राचीन राज्य की मित्रता से अच्छा है जब उसने दिल्लीस इब्राहीम लोदी और मेदपाटेश्वर की वैमनस्यता श्रवण करी तब अपना एक अमात्य चित्रकूटाचल को प्रेषण किया......उस पत्र में बाबर ने यह लिखा था कि इस ओर से तो मैं आकर दिल्ली में अपना अधिकार करूँगा अरु उस ओर से आप आन कर आगरे में अपना राज्य स्थापन करें"।

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[27] Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. I, PP. 443-444, and II 455-458.

[28] MS. Baburnama, ( S. B. L. ) FF. 189 (a) 204 (a).
Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II P. 480.

[29] Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV P. 12 says that Babur must have about 25,000 troops.

[30] Rushbrook Williams : An Empire Builder of the 16th Century, P. 127.
D. Rose : Cambridge History of India , Vol. III P. 529.
Erskine : History of India, Vol. I. P. 462.

Surprisingly enough the main facts of Rajput version of the above agreement are identical with those of Babur's version, which is an additional reason for crediting with the authenticity of the former. Both maintained that it was decided that while Babur advanced against Ibrahim from the north-west, Sanga would attack Agra, so as to divert the Lodi Sultan's attention and divide his forces. It is clear that Agra was to go to Sanga, but while Babur launched his offensive against the Sultan of Delhi, Sanga hesitated to fulfil his part of the engagement. The Rajput accounts though do not mince matters and state clearly that on the advice of his chiefs Sanga decided to remain neutral. Therefore, while Sanga had not invited Babur to India he surely became guilty of non-fulfilment of an agreement that he had made with the King of Kabul.

Now it may be interesting to analyse the causes that led the Rana to change his mind. Sanga who had imagined that Babur was only actuated by love of plunder and would, like his ancestor Timur, return to Kabul after helping himself with the riches of the country, noticed with surprise and disappointment that in his progress through the Punjab Babur behaved like a ruler of the land and that he not only occupied the Punjab but also established an administration in that province[31]. The Rana, therefore, felt that far from being a tool in his hands the ruler of Kabul was a very terrible adversary. Moreover, Sangram Singh was advised by his chiefs to abandon the alliance with Babur helping whom, they added, was like feeding a cobra with milk[32]. In view of feudal constitution of his state it was not possible for the Rana to ignore the advice of his topmost nobles. Self-interest coupled with political expediency imposed on him a policy of neutrality. This, however, laid him open to the charge of breach of faith.

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[31] Instead of posting his troops to keep the line of communication between Hindustan and Kabul open Babur was establishing garrisons, punishing his enemies like Daulat Khan and occupying Lahore and its dependent districts. These steps were unnecessary for a mere plunderer and showed that Babur had not come with a mind to go back after blackmailing but to establish his power.

(For further details of his practical acts see MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L.) FF. 201 (a) 223 (a); Babur's Memoirs, Vol. II P. 454, 463; Cambridge History Vol. IV P. 12; Rushbrook Williams' Empire Builder of the 16th Century, P. 127.)

Probably Babur would not have taken serious notice of Rana Sanga's failure to fulfil his promise of creating a diversion on Ibrahim's southern frontier, if the ruler of Mewar had not unwisely given him further provocation. In fact Babur had already decided to put an end to the Afghan menace and began his preparation for the same[33]. In the meantime immediately after Ibrahim's defeat at Panipat Rana Sanga had taken steps to establish his rule over the territory in Rajputana that had owed allegiance to the Sultan of Delhi[34]. He occupied Kandar[35] and drove away Hasan from that powerful fortress[36] and established his rule over two hundred places[37]. This must have brought about an overthrow of many Muslim families settled in the region. Babur interpreted it as an insult to Islam.[38] Moreover, Mahmud Lodi who had escaped unhurt from the field of Panipat and was saluted as Sultan of Hindustan by the fleeing Afghans was welcomed by Rana Sanga at Chitor and promised assistance against Babur. An alliance[39] was now made between the Rana and Mahmud Lodi in order to drive out Babur who was a foreigner and had usurped the sovereignty of Hindustan that had belonged to the Afghans for three generations. Babur must have looked upon these activities as unfriendly acts of the Rajput king. In order therefore to check the further expansion of the Rana's power Babur arranged to bring Bayana under his control and deputed Mahdi Khwaja to take charge of it from Nizam Khan.[40] In the meantime Hasan Khan Mewati, another notable Muslim chief and ruler of an extensive territory known as Mewat, proceeded to join Mahmud Lodi and Sanga. The Rana[41] respected him. Babur became alarmed at the formation of an Afghan-Rajput confederacy.

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[32] MS. Mewar-ka-Sankshipta Itihas, Folio 136 (a).

"भुजंगम को दुग्ध पान कराते हैं"

[33] Humayun and other trusted generals were deputed to subdue the eastern Afghan block after his victory of Panipat and occupation of Agra. (Vide MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L) FF. 201 (b), 203 (a), 206 (a) 223 (b), 224 (a). Beveridge : Babur's Memoirs, Vol. II, PP. 538-544).

[34] MS. Baburnama (S.B.L) F. 223 (a); Beveridge: Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II P. 529.

[35] It is a fortress ten miles east of Ranthambhor in Rajasthan.

[36] MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L.) F. 223 (a). Beveridge: Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. PP. 529-530.

[37] MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L.) F. 243 (a).
Akbarnama, (Persian Text) Vol. I. P. 127.
Beveridge : Memoris of Babur, Vol. II P. 562.

The above political development was accompanied by conflicting religious and cultural ideologies working round these two indomitable personalities of that age.

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38. MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L.) F. 243 (a); Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II PP. 562-563.
    Tabaqat, P.T., 192.

39. MS. Baburnama (S.B.L.) F. 243 (b); Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II P. 562; MS. Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas, F. 136 (b); Nizamuddin : Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (B.DE.), Vol. II P. 31.

40. MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L.) Vol. I.P. 228 (b); Akbarnama, (Persian Text) Vol. I P. 128; MS. Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas, F. 136 (b); Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II PP. 538-539; Nizamuddin : Tabaqat, Vol. II. P. 190.

41. MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L.) F. 234, (a) (b).
    MS. Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas, F. 136 (b).
    Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. PP. 545-547.

The Rana had looked upon himself as the champion of Hindu interest and the protector of Hindu religion and culture. He clearly saw that the slightest inaction or indifference on his part would be tantamount to betraying Hindu interests of which he was the custodian. Babur had, on the other hand, championed the cause of Islam which had for more than three hundred years dominated the country. He looked upon it his duty to maintain that supremacy. The policy was also calculated to win him with the support of Indian Muslims whose religious interests were identical with that of Babur. Babur consequently felt indignant when the expansion of Rana's territory in the direction of Agra brought about the overthrow of several Muslim families. Like a fanatical Musalman he writes in his diary, "Infidel standards dominated some 200 towns in the territories of Islam ; in them mosques and shrines fell into ruin ; from them the wives and children of the Faithful were carried away captive."[42] Thus religious hatred added to the political and economic causes brought about a complete rupture between the two indomitable rivals. Theirs was the case of two swords in a scabbard or of two lions at bay at each other.

The personal and political reason made the contest that had to follow assume a national character. Sanga ordered the drums of war to be beaten and letters of call to duty to be despatched which were duly responded to [43]. Thus equipped with and conscious

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42. MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L.) F. 242 (b).
    Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. P. 562.

43. MS. Baburnama, (S. B L.) FF. 235 (a) 243 (a) (b).
    Akbarnama, (Persian Text) Vol. I. P. 130.
    Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur Vol. II P. 562.
    MS. Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas, Folio, 136 (b), 137 (a) gives a long list of confederated and federal powers which joined him at Bayana :—

    1. Raja Prithviraj of Dhundhar. 2. Mahmud, the son of Sikandar Lodi. 3. Hasan Khan Mewati. 4. Rao

that success alone could justify his attempt and boldness only could command success, he instantly advanced on or about the end of Jan. 1527[44], at the head of a huge army in order to expel Babur from Hindustan[45]. When he reached Ranthambhor, Rao Manik Chandra Chauhan[46] of Chandwar,[47] now a village near Firozabad in Agra District, who had defeated Kamal Khan[48] welcomed his presence by

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Medini Rai of Chanderi. 5. Rao Ramdas Songra of Jhalor. 6. Raja Raimal Rathore of Merta. 7. Rao Akhai Raj Devda of Sirohi. 8. Rao Nar Singh Deo. 9. Rao Brahm Deo. 10. Rao Dalip. 11. Rawat Udai Singh of Dungarpur. 12. Rao Ratan Singh of Salumber. 13. Rao Jagmal of Amer. 14. Rao Joga of Ameta. 15. Rawat Sanga Chunda of Deogarh. 16. Rawat Bagh Singh of Deolia. 17. Dodia Karan Singh of Lawa. 18. Ajja Jhala of Sadri. 19. Sajja Jhala of Gogunda. etc.

[44] The date of his start for Bayana as stated above has been calculated on the basis of the information sent by Mahdi Khvaja to Babur after January, 6th, 1527. He was informed by Mahdi Khvaja, the governor of Bayana that Rana's advance was certain. (Vide MS : Baburnama (S. B. L.) F. 234 (a) and Memoirs of Babur (Beveridge Vol. II, P. 545.)Babur also moved from Agra on the 11th February, 1527, (Vide MS : Baburnama (S. B. L.) F. 234 (b) and Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. P. 547). This means that somewhere at the end of the month of January Sanga would have started for Bayana.

[45] MS. Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas, F. 136 (b).

[46] Mr. Ojha calls him a Raja of Anterved. (Vide Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas, Vol. I P. 374). His successors are the Raos of Bedla, a first class Jagir estate of the order of the 'Solas' or sixteen.

[47] Chandwar—A village near Firozabad in Agra district where in 1193 Shahabuddin Ghori defeated Jayachandra, king of Kanauj. Chandwar is evidently a contraction of Chandrapur. (The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India by Nandolal Dey. P. 14).

[48] Kamal Khan—Sahu-khail Lodi Afghan, son of Alam Khan. He was sent to Bayana to occupy it for Babur. At Khanua his position was in the left wing (Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. P, 567.)

presenting to him the royal canopy and tent which he had wrested from Babur's men[49]. The next aim of his march was Bayana which had fallen into the hands of Babur's men. He laid siege to the fort in an organized manner and dividing the remaining troops in four parts, the front, the rear, the right and the left and arranging them probably in the eastern side of the open plain.[50] He took care to post his trusted nobles of Mewar in the front and the rest on other sides[51]. This scientific and strategical device of the Rajputs put the enemies in a state of blockade[52]. The light forces despatched towards Bayana from Agra under Mohammad Sultan Mirza and other officers of experience with instruction to check and hang upon the skirts of the approaching enemy and to harass it in its movement could not achieve its purpose and had to retreat taking with it some heads and a few prisoners[53].

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[49] MS. Mewar-ka-Sankshipta Itihas, Folio, 137 (b).

[50] It is the same which is called 'Badalgarh Kot'. The Gambhir river flows close by it. In the eastern side of the fort there is a vast plain which most probably afforded place for arranging the Rajput army in battle array.

[51] MS. Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas, Folio, 139 (b), 140 (a) gives the Rajput arrangement as follows :

The right division was put in the charge of Rao Akhai Raj Devda of Jhalor, Raimal Rathor of Merta and Hasan Khan Mewati. The left was supervised by Narain Das Hada of Bundi, Rao Maldeo of Jodhpur, Raja Silahadi Tanwar of Raisen, Mahmud, the son of Sultan Sikandar, Raja Brahm Deo, Rai Dalip, Raja Nar Singh Deo and Rao Medini Rai. The front was commanded by Rawat Ratan Singh of Salumber, Rawat Jagga of Ameta, Rawat Sanga Chundawat, Raja Ajja Jhala of Sadri and Gokul Das Parmar of Bijolia. In the rear Sanga himself remained to supervise the entire organization with the help of Rao Chandra Bhan of Kotharia, Karam Chandra Parmar with his son Rao Jagmal, Raja Sajja Jhala, Dodia Karan Singh, Rawat Bagh Singh of Deolia, Rawat Udai Singh of Dungarpur and Raja Mukand Baghela.

[52] MS. Baburnama (S. B. L.) F. 234 (a).
Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II, P. 547.
MS, Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas, F. 140 (a).

The consequences of the battle were a foregone conclusion. The besieged lost heart. The only course opened to them was to surrender[54]. Several officers[55] of distinction were either killed or wounded. The Rajputs achieved victory on or about the 16th of February, 1527[56].

Though Babur and the Muslim historians have not attached much importance to the battle of Bayana, it stands out as a last great triumph in the chequered career of Rana Sanga in whose hands now lay the forts of Chitor, Ranthambhor, Kandar and Bayana, the key-points of central Hindustan. The short and sharp encounters that the Mughals had to face at the hands of the Rajputs on this occasion, in which they had been severely handled sent a thrill of terror and discouragement in the Mughal army[57]. The Chaghatai

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[53] MS. Baburnama, (S. B. L.) F. 234 (b).
Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. PP. 546, 548.

[54] MS. Baburnama, (S. B. L.) F. 234-235 (b).
Akbarnama, (Persian Text) Vol. I. PP. 132.
Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II, PP. 547-548.

[55] Sangur Khan became a martyr. Kitta Beg suffered great pain and Abdul Aziz was badly defeated (vide MS : Baburnama, F. 235 (a) (b).
Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. PP. 548-549.

[56] According to Col. Tod the date of victory was the 5th of Kartik, V.S. 1584, vide Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I. P. 353. The day and the month given by Col. Tod is incorrect. Babur in his memoirs (Beveridge) Vol. II. P. 548 clearly mentions that on the February, 16th, 1527 (on or about 15th of the bright-half, Phalguna, V.S. 1583) all his men including Mahdi Khvaja, the governor of Bayana were ordered to rejoin him. Hence it was about 16th Feb. 1527 and not 8th of Kartik, V.S. 1584 (13th Nov., 1527) that the fort was taken by the Rana.

[57] MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L.) F. 236 (a).
Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol, II, P. 550,

Turks found that they had now to contend with a foe, more formidable than either the Afghans, or any of the natives of India to whom they had yet been opposed.

Thus the battle of Bayana was a sad reverse for the Mughals. It was to be otherwise in the case of the battle of Khanua[58] for which Babur had been making gigantic preparations since his victory at the field of Panipat. He marched out of Agra on 16th February, 1527[59] and reached Mandakur[60] where he instituted the centre of artillery and posted his baggage and camp followers.[61] But finding a better place at Fatehpur Sikri[62] he removed his camp just close to the hill.[63] The troops were arrayed on the right and left and in the centre.[64] A waggon line connected with an iron chain was made to defend the front and provide shelter to the artillery-men.[65] Where there was no possibility of keeping waggons ditch was cut for the protection of his men.[66] Wheeled tripods of wood were constructed for affording a resting place for the guns and cover for the gunners.[67] Mustafa and Ustadali were posted in charge of the artillery and other men of note were assigned their position either on the left or right or in the centre.[68] Babur took his position in the centre. For the flank movement (Tulghma) and the retainers' party most trusted Amirs were chosen.[69]

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[58] Khanua is a village in the Rupbas Tahsil of the State of Bharatpur, Rajputana (Rajasthan), situated in 27.2° N. and 77.33° E., close to the left bank of the Banganga river, and about 13 miles south of Bharatpur city (I.G.R.P. 339.)

[59] MS : Baburnama, (S.B.L.) F. 236 (a).
Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. P. 548.

[60] Mandakur : 'It is perhaps the Mandhawar of the Ain.' Jarrett, II, P. 182. It is a plain without adequate supply of water. It is between Agra and Sikri (Akbarnama, Beveridge, Vol. I P. 259).
Tabaqat, P.T. P. 191.

[61] MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L.) F. 236 (a).
Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. P. 548.

[62] It is a town in Kiraoli Tahsil; situated in 27.5° North and 77.40° East, on a metalled road 23 miles west of Agra city.

[63] MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L.) F. 236 (b).
Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. P. 548.

According to Abul Fazl (Akbarnama, Per. Text, Vol. I. P. 131) Babur sent Amir Darvesh Muhammad Sarban in advance in order that he might find a proper ground for encampment. The said Amir fixed on an eligible spot in the neighbourhood of Fatehpur lake and that was made the pleasant ground of encampment.
Tabaqat, P. T. P. 191.

[64] MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L.) F. 241 (a); Beveridge, Vol. II, P. 548.

In the meantime the Rajputs, whose energy, chivalry and fondness for battle and bloodshed doubled by their recent success marched onwards, animated by a strong national spirit, led by a hero who was ready to meet face to face the boldest veterans of the enemy's camp. From Bayana, instead of going North-east reaching the enemy directly, he marched towards North-west and halted at Bhusawar.[70] He did so probably, with a view to cut the enemy's line of supply from Delhi and Kabul. Though, at any other time this would be sound strategy, it proved disastrous in this particular instance. For had he marched straight, it would have taken him hardly a day and he would have pressed on and surprised the enemy, still only half prepared to face him. As it happened he lost valuable time about a month in idle speculation, far away from the camp of the enemy, and allowed Babur to complete his preparations. His lethargic move and unnecessary delay sealed the fate of the Rajputs. His success at Bayana, had created in him over-confidence which made him minimize difficulties he had to overcome. "If the Maharana had possessed the restless energy of his elder brother, the ever memorable, the 'winged' Prithviraj, or if he did possess it, had shown it in a speedy attack on the entrenched camps of Babur, or if, with Rana Hamir's energy, he had fallen on the dejected, panic-stricken followers of the brave adventurer from Samarkand, the Turk (Mughal) dynasty would probably never have occupied the throne of Delhi, and the history of India would have run a different course from what it has done."[71]

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[65] MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L.) F. 241 (a).
Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. P. 550.

[66] MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L.) F. 236 (b).
Beveidge : Memoirs of Babur Vol. II. P. 558.

[67] MS. Baburnama (S.B.L.). F. 236 (b).
Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. P. 557.
Rushbrook Williams : An Empire Builder of the 16th Century, PP. 146-147.

[68] MS : Baburnama (S.B.L.) FF. 244 (b) 245 (a) (b); Beveridge: Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. PP. 565-567.

[69] MS : Baburnama (S.B.L.) F. 246 (a).
Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. P. 568.

[70] MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L.) F. 236 (b); Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. P. 548; Beveridge : Akbarnama, Vol. I P. 260, wrongly write it Bisawar. Bhusawar is a town in 'Was' Tahsil of Bharatpur, situated in 27.2°N. and 77.3°E. close to the Jaipur border and about 30 miles west by South-west of Bharatpur City. It is supposed to have been founded by, and named after Bhasawar Khan, an officer of Md. of Ghore. (I.G.R., P. 337).

Yet amidst all mistakes and miscalculations there was a ray of hope for Sanga. The news of defeat of Bayana brought by the deserters and the stories of ardour and bravery of the Rajputs repeated from tongue to tongue damped the spirit of the Mughal army.[72] Despair was writ large on all the faces. Moreover, at such a critical moment from among the reinforcements[73] from Kabul, Muhammad Sharif, an astrologer

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71. Sarda : Maharana Sanga, P. 140.

72. MS. Baburnama, ( S. B. L.) F. 240 (a).
Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, P. 556.

73. The number of the reinforcements given by Babur in his memoirs ( MS. F. 237 (a), Beveridge: II P. 551 ) is 500, while Gulbadan in Humayun nama (Beveridge) P. 100, gives 30 to 40. She further tells us of the clever contri-

kept insisting to all he met, "Mars is in the west in these days ; who comes into the fight from this (east) side will be defeated."[74]

But Babur was not the man to falter under adverse circumstances. He had sustained adversity with self-possession and prosperity with moderation. He took the celebrated step of rejuvenating energy in his men by his renouncing wine,[75] the dearest luxury of his life. He also infused courage in their dejected hearts by eloquence.[76] So many vigorous assertions of attempted performances of duty, such fervent hopes expressed through melo-dramatic eloquence, could not but affect the sensibility of the audience, already excited by the impressive character of the whole display.

Missing the opportunity of bewildering the enemy on a suitable occasion when there was panic and confusion, Rana Sanga left Bhusawar and reached near Khanua on the 13th of March, 1527[77] with an immense army[78] that far exceeded the numerical strength of his

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vance of Babur, who when he heard that they were 30 or 40 only, sent 1,000 of his own troops all armed and equipped at midnight so that when they arrived they might inspire confidence in his people.

[74] MS. Baburnama, (S. B. L.) F. 237 (a).
Beveridge : Baburnama, II. P. 551.
Beveridge : Humayunnama (Gulbadan) P. 98. "It would be best for the Emperor not to fight, for the constellation 'Sahkiz Yildoz' (eight stars) is opposite."

[75] MS. Baburnama, (S. B. L.) FF. 237 (a), 238 (b); Beveridge: Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. PP. 551-553; Beveridge : Humayunnama, P. 99.

[76] MS. Baburnama, (S. B. L.) F. 240 (b); Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. PP. 556-557 ; Beveridge : Humayunnama P. 99.

[77] MS. Baburnama, (S. B. L.) F. 241 (b).
Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. P 558.

[78] As regards the number in Sanga's army different figures have been given by different sources :—

adversary.[79] He occupied the position by the 17th of

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(a) Babur in his Memoirs—MS. Baburnama, (S. B. L.) F. 243 (a) (b) and Beveridge: Vol. II, P. 562 says that Rajputs were 2,01,000.

(b) Gulbadan in Humayunnama, Beveridge : P. 98 says that 'nearly two lakhs of cavalry assembled.'

(c) Nizamuddin in Tabaqat estimated the number as 1,20,000.

(d) Firishta maintains one lakh Rajputs, (P.T.) P. 208.

(e) The number maintained in Muntakhab-ul-Lubab is 2,00,000 men, and 2000 elephants (Persian Text), Vol. I. P. 55.

(f) Maasir-ul-Umara MS. Vol. II. P. 202 gives 1,00,000.

(g) According to MS. Granth Vanshavali there were 2 lakhs of horsemen etc., (vide Folio 48 (b).

(h) MS. Vanshavali Ranajini Folio 59 (2) gives 1,00,000 infantry 1,08,000 horse and 2000 war instruments, 7000 elephants.

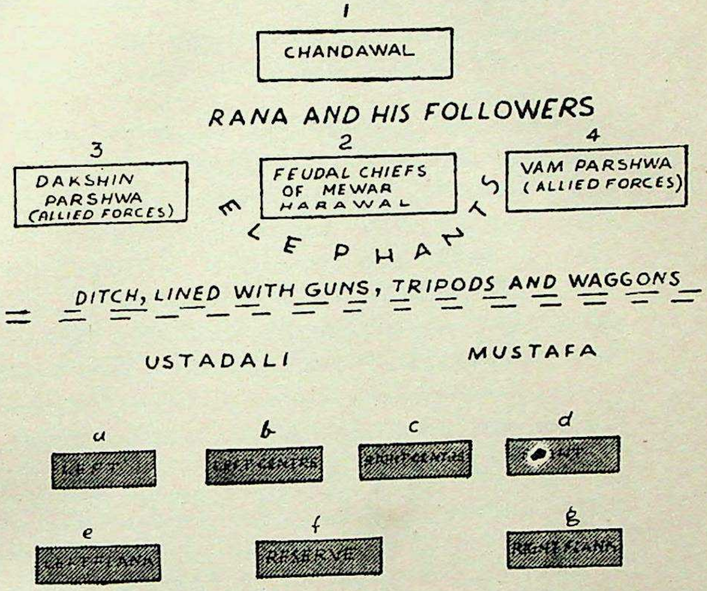
(i) Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, P. 16 gives 100,000 horse.

Though Babur is a contemporary writer it is very difficult to agree with his number as 2,01,000 because an enemy always tries to give inflated strength of the adversary in order to prove the superior skill of his small forces. Equally unreliable is the number of horse given in the Cambridge History, for the Rajputs were more a foot-soldiers than horsemen. Firishta, Nizamuddin and Shah Navaz Khan, though later writers, give convincing number of Rana's strength.

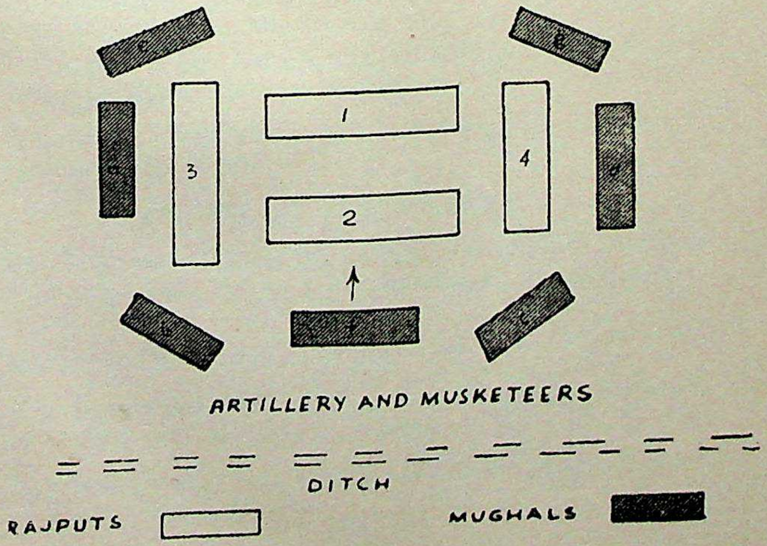
79. The fighting strength of Babur's side cannot precisely be stated as the Mughal and the Rajput sources are silent on this point. Rushbrook Williams' number which is eight or ten thousand effective is too small to be accepted. (Vide the Empire Builder of the 16th Century, p. 152). Seven to eight thousand troops must have been sent by Babur with Humayun to Jaunpur to oppose forty to fifty thousand men of Nasir Khan and Maruf Farmuli ( Vide MS. Baburnama, F. 223 (b) and Beveridge's Babur, P. 530), and he must have kept with him at least the same number. Moreover, at Khanua his strength was increased by the contingents from Sambhal, Itawa, Dholpur, Gwalior, Jaunpur and Kalpi which had already fallen to Babur's

# BATTLE OF KHANUA 17th MARCH, 1527

## POSITION I


1
CHANDAWAL
RANA AND HIS FOLLOWERS
3
DAKSHIN PARSHWA (ALLIED FORCES)
2
FEUDAL CHIEFS OF MEWAR HARAWAL
4
VAM PARSHWA (ALLIED FORCES)
ELEPHANTS
DITCH, LINED WITH GUNS, TRIPODS AND WAGGONS
USTADALI
MUSTAFA
a
LEFT
b
LEFT CENTRE
c
RIGHT CENTRE
d
RIGHT
e
LEFT FLANK
f
RESERVE
g
RIGHT FLANK

## POSITION - II


e
g
a
3
1
4
d
2
b
f
c
ARTILLERY AND MUSKETEERS
DITCH
RAJPUTS ☐
MUGHALS ■

March, 1527[80] near the village of Khanua[81] at a distance of four miles from Babur who too was encamped close to a hill not far from the village of Khanua.[82] Of course the Rana maintained the same order of arrangement that he had followed at Bayana.[83]

Both the armies, abounding in veteran commanders, well officered by able generals and encouraged by the spirited leaders, came face to face at about half-past nine[84] on the 17th of March, 1527[85]. Offensive was taken by the Rajputs of the left wing headed by Medini Rai, Rao Maldeo and other notable chiefs against the right wing of Babur under Malik Qasim, Khusru Kukultash and

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arm. The recruitment of three thousand men through Shaikh Guran is evident from Babur's Memoirs (vide Beveridge, II p. 526 and Tabaqat, II. P. 36). Though I do not fully agree with Mr. Ojha who is of opinion that at Khanua Babur had at least fifty to sixty thousand force (vide Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas, Vol. I. p. 373), I am inclined to think that Babur's forces were not less than 20 to 25 thousand fighting men. This conclusion is also supported by Firishta's number which was 20,000 (P.T.)P. 208.

[80] MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L) F. 243 (b); Beveridge: Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. p. 563.

Abul Fazl in his Akbarnama, (Beveridge), Vol. I. p. 260 gives 16th March which is incorrect.

[81] Akbarnama, (Per. Text.) Vol. I. p. 132; MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 31 (a).

'षानुवा नगरे तत्र शिविरं व्यतनोत्ततः'

[82] MS. Baburnama, F. 243 (b), (S.B.L.). Beveridge: Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. p. 563. Beveridge: Humayunnama, p. 100.

[83] MS. Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas, F. 141 (a).

[84] MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L.), F. 246 (a); Beveridge: Memories of Babur, Vol. II P. 568. Akbarnama. (P. T.) I. P. 134.

[85] MS. Baburnama, (S. B. L.), F. 244 (a); Beveridge: Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II P. 563.

others[86]. The charge was so effective that the Mughals forming Babur's right wing could not resist[87]. Babur instantly despatched reinforcements under Chin Timur which relieved the pressure[88] and enabled the Mughal right wing to launch an offensive. The attack was so successful that a gap was created between the left wing and the centre of the Rajputs[89]. Mustafa took the earliest opportunity to open fire which created confusion in the Rajput array[90]. But the daring action of Akhai Raj, Rai Mal Rathor and Hasan Khan Mewati engaged the left wingers of the Mughals in a conflict.[91] Thus by this time the battle ranged all along the line for a considerable period and it appeared that the entire conflict would terminate indecisively.[92] Babur was throughout this part of the action active in supplying reinforcement to his wingers who were able to maintain their position with success.[93] Though the Rajputs showed great valour in their mad dash they could not stand against

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86. MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L.), F. 246 (a); Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. I P. 134. MS. Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas, F. 141 (a) (b).

87. Rushbrook Williams: An Empire Builder of the 16th Century, P. 153.

88. MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L.) F. 246 (a); Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. I.P. 133. Beveridge: Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II P. 568.

89. Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. I P. 135. Rushbrook Williams: An Empire Builder of the 16th Century, P. 153.

90. MS. Baburnama,(S.B.L.)F246 (b);Akbarnama,(Persian Text), Vol. I.P 134; Beveridge: Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II P. 569.

91. Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. I. P134. MS. Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas, F. 141 (b).

92. MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L.) F. 247 (a) (b); Beveridge: Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II PP. 570-571.

93. MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L.) F, 246 (b); Beveridge: Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II P. 571.

the dreadful fire from the enemy's artillery.[94] In the meantime the simultaneous charge of the cavalry made the confusion worse confounded. Casualties began to occur and the flower of the nobility, like Chandra Bhan Chauhan, Bhopat Rai, Manik Chandra and Dalpat fell victims.[95] Hasan Khan was also one of them who fell by the force of a matchlock.[96]

Before these warriors had lost their lives they had succeeded in capturing some artillery pieces of the enemy. The Mughals in their turn captured the elephant bearing the Rana's flag and recovered their lost artillery pieces. Karan Singh Dodia courageously got the animal released but at the cost of his life[97].

By these casualties which were gradually piling up the loss of the Rajputs Babur was regaining courage and strength. He ordered a simultaneous general advance of the entire troop including horsemen, gunners and right and left wingers.[98] This advance was met by Sanga's front line heroically; but this time again many of the chiefs like Sajja Chundawat, Rawat Jagga Sarangdevot, Rawat Bagh, Sajja Ajja and Karam Chand perished.[99]

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[94] MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L.), F. 247 (b). Akbarnama. (Persian Text), Vol. I. P. 136 Beveridge: Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. P. 572.

[95] MS. Baburnama. (S.B.L.), F. 248 (b). Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. I. P. 136, Beveridge: Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. P. 573.

[96] MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L.), F. 248 (b). Beveridge: Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. P. 573,

There are different versions about Hasan's death. Nizamuddin (Eng. tr.) says that Hasan Khan was struck with an arrow on the face and in spite of the fact that he had thirty thousand horsemen of his own there, they left him on the spot where he fell. (Vol.II p. 38). Badaoni says that he was struck by an arrow and his men threw him into a well. But in comparison to Babur's account these statements are unreliable. Similarly Ahmad Yadgar's statement in Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana ( Elliot Vol. V. P. 36-37) as to the flight of Hasan carries no weight.

[97] MS. Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas, F. 141 (b), 142 (a).

[98] MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L.), F. 249 (a). Beveridge: Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. P. 572,

This discomfiture made the Rana who was all along the battle inspiring and guiding his men, desperate. He exposed his person in the course of the contest. As he rode between the columns he received a mortal wound from an arrow. His guards flew to his relief and the wounded Rana was gently raised, and conveyed out of the tumult of the battle to a far distant place, called Baswa in an unconscious condition under the escort of Prithvi Raj of Amber, Rao Maldeo of Jodhpur and Rao Akhai Raj Deveda of Sirohi.[100]

However, the remaining warriors requested Rao Ratan Singh the chief of Salumber to personate the Rana and assume the insignia of royalty in the latter's absence. The patriotic chief, whose motive was to serve the state to the last drop of his blood, declined to do so for his forefather Chunda had relinquished it for ever. Then by universal consent the ensigns of sovereignty were placed on Raja Rana Ajja, the Chunda of Halwad who had relinquished the throne of Halwad in Kathiawar in deference to his father's

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[99] MS. Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas, F. 142 (a).

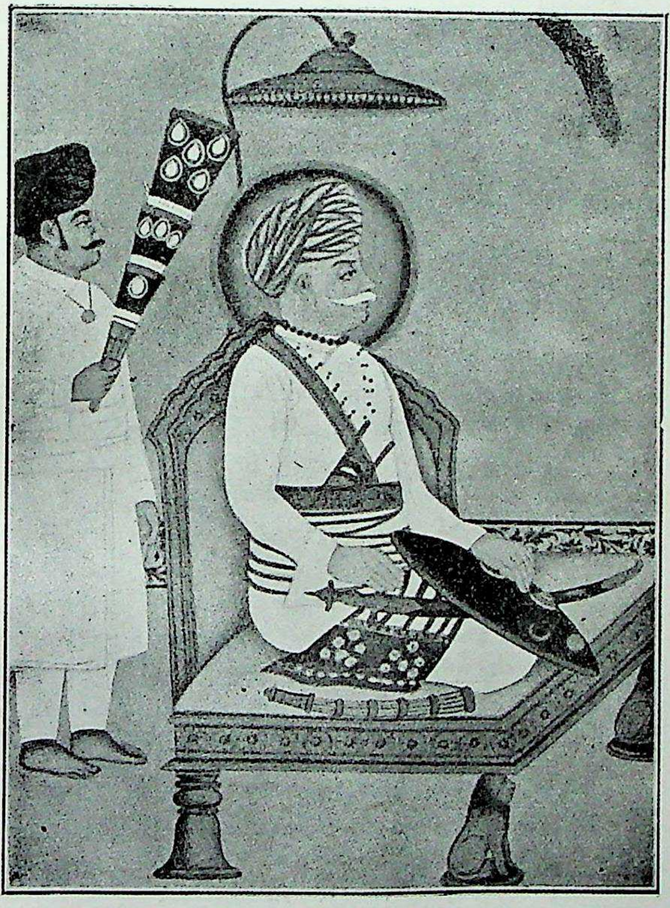
[100] MS. Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas, F.142 (a).

According to MS. Phutkar Gita, No. 717 F. 102 the Rana was removed by Bhan Simhavat on his arms, a customary way of lifting the sick and infirm.

'सांगा तणा गेरे सीहावत भुजा बल आएया'

Abul Fazl) Akbarnama) Persian Text, Vol. I. P. 136, and Khafi Khan (Vide Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Persian Text, Vol. I. P. 61.) are not right when they say that the Rana fled away from the field of battle, as all his warriors were killed in the action.

The statement in the Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, P. 17 that the Rana took to flight is based on later authorities and hence is not reliable.



Ajja

wishes. The "Chhattra" was now held over his head and the 'Chanwar' was waved around him.[101]

For a time under this new command the Rajput rank and file continued the action with the same vigour, of course, not knowing the departure of Sanga. But when the reports of his absence passed from rank to rank, the unifying force was broken and the fissiparous tendency of Rajput pride overwhelmed the national cause. Personal pride and feelings of superiority made them neglect criminally the object which was dear to them all. There followed a general desertion.[102]

In this interval a calamity destined to be un-Rajput like occurred. Silahadi, the cowardly traitor, in order to save himself in the hour of adversity hastened to the enemy's side and divulged the whole secret of Sanga's absence.[103] The remaining forces wavered

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101. MS. Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas, F. 142 (b).
There is an old song quite popular in Mewar relating to Ajja's valour :

'रघु सुर तव राण सिरवारे गज सिर चढे
काटे खल सुरताण ईस फते कीधो अजा'

i.e. Ajja cut down the wicked Turks ascending the elephant and assuming on his head the ensigns of the family of Raghu. The successors of Ajja Jhala of Sadri still enjoy the prerogative of entering the portals of Rana's palace with the 'Chhattra' and the 'Chanwar' like the Rana.

102. MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L.) F. 249 (a).
Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. PP. 572-573.

103. Mr. Sarda in his Sanga, P. 145 mentions Silahadi's 'desertion' during the presence of the Rana which is not correct. MS. Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas, Folio 142 (b) and 143 (a) records his 'desertion' after the removal of the Rana from the battlefield which seems reliable. His desertion after the removal of the Rana is more probable.

This event is so commonly believed that we find ample evidences of it in the literature and popular songs, some of them of course belong to the same age as their style indicates.

with shock so vigorously given that there was confusion and dismay. The rout was sudden and total. The onset and the victory were simultaneous. The day was lost, the defeat was absolute and all the rest of the warriors lost their lives upon the field.

Thus the battle terminated in the Mughal victory with the close of the day but no trace of the Rana was found in spite of hot pursuit made by Muhammad Kokultash. The next day the field was surveyed and a list of Mughal martyrs was prepared from the heaps of human corpses laid strewn on the road right from Khanua to Bayana. A tower of skull was raised on the mound near the camp to commemorate the great historic victory over the Rajputs. The emperor took pleasure in assuming the title of Ghazi to glorify the dazzling deed of his life.[104]

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MS. Phutkar Gita, No. 717 F. 102.

'भागा भूप अनेडा भोपत सत सुर तंभ सगलो छांड
रहियो राण रतन सी रावत मुगल तणां सामो पग मांड'

MS. Gita Sangrah, No. 9 P. 8.

'भंड रतनसी राजवंस मुडिया सत राषण चुंडा हर स्याम
डूंगर साह् सिलहदी डिगिया आवर खडग मरण दे आज'

MS. Amar Kavya Vanshavali, F. 31 (b).

'तुंबरो यः सिलहदी लुंटितो निर्जितो रणे
अन्येपि देशपाला जिता संग्राम भूभुजा ते दिल्ली शेन मिलिता'

In the light of these evidences we are in a position to state that the doubts shown by modern writers, like Rushbrook Williams (Babur, P.156) and S.K. Banerji (Rajput Studies PP. 92-93) as regards the desertion of Silahadi and his going over to Babur's side are unfounded. The major argument in support of the doubt given by them is that no Muslim writer mentions this fact, as if it was necessary for Muslim chroniclers to know and record everything under the sun.

[104] MS. Baburnama, (S.B.L.) FF. 249, 250 (a).
Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. PP 571, 573, 574, 576. Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. I. P. 137.

It now remains for us to examine as to why the Rana had to meet such a disaster. Pro-Rajput historians[105] ascribe the defeat of the Rana to the sole treachery of Silahadi. But to say that only treachery could have caused the defeat of the Rana is not correct. As has been shown the defection of Silahadi took place only after Sanga had left the field in wounded condition and his troops were almost in a last gasp. In fact the battle had been won by Babur before Silahadi's change of side. One must, therefore, look for the causes of Sanga's defeat elsewhere. Firstly, the Rana had brought together a huge crowd of men most of whom were Rajputs of various clans, owing allegiance to their own tribal chiefs and believing in their traditional systems of warfare. The Rajput troops at Khanua were not amenable to discipline and were held together by the slender tie of allegiance to their chiefs and not to the ruler of Mewar. Secondly, they were mostly infantry-men and were opposed by superior well-mounted troopers under Babur. Sanga's army was undoubtedly inferior in cavalry to that of Babur whose strength lay in the predominance of quick and mobile cavalry. Thirdly, the Rana possessed no artillery which was Babur's main strength and the primary cause of success against the Rajputs. Sanga was hopelessly outclassed in weapons and as was subsequently remarked by clever observers 'arrows could not answer bullets'. Fourthly, Sangram Singh, thinking Babur to be an ordinary adversary relied on his time-honoured mode of fighting; whereas Babur who had faced in numerous battles various races such as Turks, Mangols, Uzbegs, Persians and Afghans besides Indians had not only successfully imbibed the peculiar mode of fighting of each and had made a synthesis of them all, had with a real general's eye formed plans to suit the exigencies of the situation. The fort-like arrangement of his troops defended by an array of carts was a novel thing for Rana Sanga. Babur's turning parties wheeling round to the Rana's rear delivered charges simultaneously with murderous fire poured by the enemy's guns in the front line of Babur's army. Like all Rajputs Sanga believed in frontal attacks and desired to overthrow the enemy's ranks by sheer physical force, which could not succeed against heavy guns. Fifthly, Babur wisely kept his watchful eye on every portion of the field and supervised the activity of his men with the skill of a general. The Rana, on the other hand, threw himself head-long into the battle like an ordinary soldier and thus not only surrendered his position as the supreme general of his troops, but lost touch with various divisions of his army. Under these circumstances his defeat was inevitable.

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[105] Tod : Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I. P. 356.
Sarda : Maharana Sanga, P. 145.
Shyamlal Das : Vir Vinod, Vol. I. P. 366.

But whatever may have been the causes of the defeat, the consequences of the battle of Khanua were immense and immeasurable. The battle had not proved to be a light adventure for Babur who had almost staked his life and throne and suffered a grievous loss in men and money before he could claim success. Nevertheless, the victory had a far-reaching results and shifted the sovereignty of the country from the Rajputs to the Mughals who were to enjoy it for over two hundred years. It would be however a mistake to suppose that the Rajput power was crushed for ever and that they wielded no influence in the politics of the country. No one realized it better than Babur himself who stopped short of further encroachment upon Rajasthan.[106] After Khanua he did nothing more than storming Chanderi and obtaining possession of that fortress on 29th Jan, 1528.[107]

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[106] MS. Baburnama, (S. B. L.), F. 250 (a).
Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. p. 577.

[107] MS. Baburnama, (S. B. L.), F. 255 (b).
Beveridge : Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II. p. 597.

Soon after Khanua the life of Sanga also came to its end. When he was carried away in a litter from the field he recovered at Baswa,[108] from his fainting fit, into which he had been thrown by loss of blood. The first word that he uttered were expressive of his martial spirit. He called for his horse and arms and showed impatient desire to rush into the battle. But hearing of the complete rout he waited and vowed never to enter the portals of Chitor without vanquishing his enemy. In token of the sad event he gave up putting on of the turban and instead wrapped a cloth over his head.[109] However, in the hour of disaster and defeat, the Rana seemed heroic. With all his hopes blasted, with the whole fabric of his country's fortune shattered, he never lost his confidence in himself.

On hearing that Babur was engaged in the siege of Chanderi the Rana made preparations to move to that direction probably to relieve the besieged. As soon as the preparations were completed he marched up to Irich[110] near Kalpi and besieged it.[111] Afag, the Governor of the emperor put up a defence. Suddenly in the night he (Rana) became uneasy[112] probably because his own followers who had no heart to engage in another contest with Babur administered poison to him. He was taken in a litter and before he could reach Mandalgarh he died on or about 30th Jan. 1528 A. D.,[113] where still stands his cremation place crowned by a 'Chhatri'.

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[108] Headquarters of the Tahsil of the same name in the Deosa Nizamat of Jaipur (Rajasthan), situated in 27.9° N and 76.36°E., on the Rajputana, Malwa Railway, 63 mi se east-by-north-east of Jaipur City and 128 miles south of Delhi. The mud walls which surround the town are breached at several places and the small fort is in a dilapidated condition. (I. G. R., P. 256).

[109] MS. Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas, F. 143 (b).

[110] Irej or Irich :—It is in the Jalaun District in the south-east direction of Kalpi, 28.88°N and 78.8°E, near Indian midland Railway Kanpur branch.

[111] Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. I. P. 139.
MS. Rawal Rana ji ki Vat, F. 81 (a).
MS. Granth Vanshavali, F. 48 (a).
MS. Vanshavali Ranajini, F. 61 (a).

[112] MS, Amar Kavya Vanshavali, F. 31 (b),

Such was the end of the extraordinary man, whose name is still cherished by posterity. The defeat and death of the Rana were not merely an appalling per-

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"कालपी मध्य आगत: संग्रामस्य तदाखिलै:
गरदानं कृतं त्तै (१) तैः संग्राम तादृशं पुन :
आनीय मंडल गढे मेद पाटे पुरे क्रिया
चक्रुरे तस्य ते सर्वे स्वामि द्रोह कृतो नृपा:"

The uneasiness of the Rana at Irich has been figuratively explained by Abul Fazl who writes, "one night he beheld in a dream an ancestor of his under a dreadful appearance. He awoke in terror and horror and began to tremble. After this he immediately set about his return and on the way, the forces of death attacked him and he died". (Akbarnama, Persian Text, Vol. I. P. 139 and Beveridge : Akbarnama, Vol. I. P. 268).

This uneasiness was nothing but the effect of the slow poison administered by Parmar Karam Chandra and Ratan Singh at Kalpi who were jealous of his expansion of power, Vide Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, F. 81 (a) and MS. Tawarikh Vanshavali, F. 11 (a).

113. The date of Sanga's death given in Vir Vinod, Vol. I. P. 372 is April, 1527 and followed by Sarda (Sanga, P. 157.) is not correct.

Babur in his Memoirs (MS : Baburnama, F. 259 (a) (b) and Beveridge, Vol. II P. 598) after his conquest of Chanderi on the 30th Jan. takes advice of his 'Begs' either to move against Rai Singh or to move on Rana Sanga. This shows that about this time Rana Sanga must have been living.

MS. Granth Vanshavali, F. 48 (a) clearly states that after one year since his defeat of Khanua he started towards Chanderi and died of the slow effect of poison at Kalpi. Hence the probable date of his death must be about 30th Jan. 1528 A.D, sonal tragedy, but a great national calamity. However, the clever examination of his career shows that in spite of his heroic ability he was not a statesman of a high order. In his relations with Babur he showed vacillation and want of decision and firmness. He broke the agreement with Babur. Even after he had decided not to help him he failed to proceed and capture Agra which he ought to have done immediately after Babur had moved south of the Punjab to fight with Ibrahim Lodi. Had he done so he would have not only acquired the immense treasures and resources that lay stored in that town but also the support of the entire race of the Indian Afghans and other notables who were at that time thoroughly inimical to Babur. He occupied himself after Babur's victory at Panipat in the more congenial task of establishing his rule over the territory in Rajasthan that still belong to the Afghans instead of making preparation for a contest with Babur. After he had conquered Bayana he did not engage Babur for about a month and foolishly allowed him time to complete his preparations. He proceeded from Bayana to Khanua by a long route that took him about a month, though from Bayana Khanua could have been reached in a day's time. He failed to appreciate the strength and weakness of Babur's position and military establishment. The greatest mistake of his life, however, must be considered to be his failure to make an alliance with Ibrahim Lodi for driving away Babur who was then a foreigner and hence an enemy not only of Ibrahim but also of all Indians of that time. An impartial student of history must, therefore, conclude the chapter of Sanga's relation with Babur by adding that the former was completely outwitted by the latter in diplomacy and war.

## CHAPTER III

# HUMAYUN AND MEWAR; CIVIL STRIFE AND POLITICAL LULL.

## ( 1528—1536 A. D. )

The respect which we justly feel for Sanga as a heroic spirit and a contributor to the cause of his country must not blind us to the fault which he committed as a statesman. Induced by his favourite wife, Hadi Karmeti[1], he fragmented his vast empire, acquired through the flow of copious blood of the flower of Mewar, by allotting Ranthambhor, the strongest citadel of his eastern dominion, along with fifty to sixty lakhs of Jagirdari to her sons Vikram and Uda, leaving the rest of his territory to Rana Ratan Singh,[2] his eldest son by his wife Dhan Bai. This act of political blunder ushered in again a period of inglorious civil war and sowed the seed of rivalry and class feuds which checked the political progress and marred the prestige of Sisodias.

Having secured his power Ratan Singh, (an anaemic figure who had boastfully ordered that the gates of Chitor should never be closed as its portals were Delhi and Mandu[3], demanded the fort of Ranthambhor from his step-mother who was then living under the tutelage of her brother Surajmal, the Hada Chief of Bundi[4]. The Rani in a wilful manner evaded all correspondence and interviews for settlement and began to foment intrigues to push forward the claims of her own sons Vikram and Uda for the Gadi. She entered into secret communications[5] with Babur promising Ranthambhor in exchange for Bayana, besides the valuable trophies of Malwa brought by Sanga if Babur gave her assistance in securing Chitor for her two sons. Although nothing serious came out of this communication immediately, owing to Babur's preoccupation with the internal problems of his empire, his sympathetic and encouraging reply converted the queen's somewhat negative feelings towards him into friendly sentiments.

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[1] She was the daughter of Narbad and grand-daughter of Rao Bhan of Bundi. She is also styled as Karmavati. Babur wrongly calls her Padmavati.

(Vide. MS. Baburnama, F. 265 (b); Baburnama, Beveridge II P. 612).

[2] Son and successor of Rana Sanga, born of Dhan Bai, the daughter of Sujavat of Jodhpur who reigned from 1528 A.D. to 1531 A.D.

[3] MS. Tawarikh Vanshavali, Foilo 12 (a).

However, Babur's apathy towards the problem of Mewar and his departure from the scene of action destined Ratan Singh to enjoy the dignity of lordships over Chitor for about five years in peace without diminution of an acre of land to his inherited territory. But his career, a sad caricature of such a full-blooded personality like Sanga, came to a close as the result of the miscarriage of a vicious plan[6] that he had contrived for the murder of Surajmal at a hunting excursion at Bundi in 1531 A. D.[7]

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[4] MS. Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas, F. 147 (a).

[5] MS. Baburnama, F. 265 (b).
Beveridge: Babur's Memoirs, Vol. II. PP. 612-613.
MS: Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas, Folio 147 (a).

[6] MS. Vanshavali Ranijini, Folio 62 (a), 'At Bundi a hunting party was organised on the day of the festival of the 'Aheria' (the spring hunt), when both Surajmal and Ratan Singh fell by each other's weapons'.

[7] The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III. P. 530. As regards the actual date of his death nothing can be said with certainty. But from a copper-plate No. 460 recorded in the Register of the Commissioner's office, Udaipur,

The murder of Ratan Singh sent a thrill of horror through the length and breadth of his kingdom and every body was seized with panic and insecurity. However, the gap was filled by the succession of his half-brother Vikramaditya ( 1531 A. D.–1536 A. D. ), an insolent, passionate and vindictive youth. The political upheavals of his time had not taught him any lesson of value and even the formal education that was given to men of his clan had left him untouched. He remained to the end of his life one of those few Ranas who were totally devoid of taste for warlike pursuits. He was without a trace of modesty and his rude and brutish mind remained uncultivated. He took delight in the amusements of the sports and combats of gladiators and the hunting of wild animals. Women and wine were the things in which he used to delight. His constant neglect of the affairs of the state plunged the country into anarchy and strife. He spent his time in drunken revels and orgies, unmindful of his responsibilities and blind to foreign danger looming large over his fortune. The business of the Government was carried by hare-brained chatterers and buffoons whom he esteemed and with whom he consorted and counselled. He disregarded the precepts and practice of his forefathers and began to lay the foundation of that hatred which was soon to become so fatal for every class of Mewar. The old feudal lords, the embodied experience of the race, watered and watched

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of Vikramaditya's time of the 7th of the dark-half of Ashad, V.S. 1589 (25th June, 1531 A.D.) gives us a clue that Vikramaditya had succeeded to the throne of Mewar by that time. Another copper-plate in the same office, No. 105 of Ratan Singh's time, dated the 12th of the dark-half of Phalgun, V. S. 1587, (24th Feb., 1530 A. D.) of Ratan Singh's time shows that he was living during that year. Now the 'Aheriya' festival falls in the month of Chaitra, one month and one year after the date of the plate No. 105 referred to above. Hence his death must have occurred in the month of Chaitra of the V. S. 1588 (March 1531 A. D.)

by his predecessors, and who had served the state with signal devotion since the days of Bapa, retired to their Jagirdari, (leaving the intemperate and licentious youth to his fate) because they were being constantly insulted by him.[8]

When affairs of the state fell into such confusion and mutual jealousies and quarrels made the co-operation for the common end impossible, Nar Singh Deo (Sanga's nephew) and other Jagirdars who were driven into revolt by the haughty conduct of the Rana and who were hatching plots to get rid of him approached Bahadur Shah of Gujarat with suggestion of invading Chitor.[9]

Such a proposal was welcome to the Sultan who had long cherished the dream of the conquest of Mewar. He unmindful of his past obligations[10] to the Rana and his mother, ordered Muhammad Khan Asiri in 1532 to assault the fort with a large army. Khudawand Khan who was at Mandu, was also instructed to join him.[11]

When the invading army arrived near Mandasor, Vikram's repose was rudely broken and he sent a proposal for peace with his Vakil,offering to pay a handsome tribute.* But the two generals proceeded onwards unmindful of the allurement of profit.

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[8] MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, F. 82 (b) 83 (a) (b); Vir Vinod, Vol. II. P. 27; The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, P. 530.

[9] MS. Nensi's Khyat, Folio 14 (b).

[10] While a prince, Bahadur Shah had fled from his brother Sikandar to the Rana at Chitor where he was welcomed and provided all kinds of comforts by the Rana ( Vide P. T. Mirat-i-Sikadari, P. 225).

MS. Vanshavali Ranajini, Foilo 14 (a) and MS. Suryavansh, MS. Vanshavali Adi Purm Shivthi 63, (b). Folio, 50 (b).

[11] Mirat-i-Sikandari (P. T.) P. 260.
MS. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Vol. I. P. 118.

*Mirat-i-Sikandari (P.T.) P. 260

Now it was a difficult and dangerous situation to which the fort was drifting. There was no way of extricating the country from this impending peril. Vikram had no power to cope with such circumstances as these, specially as he had alienated the sympathies of his feudal barons who were great warriors. Karmeti who had better gauged the temper of the new situation and who had greater energy and versatility in dealing with difficult situations than her son, sent an appeal[12] through an envoy named Padam Shah to Humayun with a bracelet[13] soliciting his help reminding him of her cordial relations with Babur. The emperor showed formal sympathy, and sent back the envoy with presents for the Rani.[14] But he made no response to the appeal owing to his religious feelings.[15] He only marched as far as Gwalior and after about a month's stay there (Feb. and March, 1533) went back to Agra.[16]

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[12] MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, F. 87 (a).
MS. Vanshavali Ranajini, F. 63 (b).
MS. Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas, F. 151 (a) (b). 152 (a).

Kaviraj Shyamal Das in his Vir Vinod, Vol. II. P. 27 mentions that Vikramaditya himself went to Delhi to solicit help which is not probable as it was against tradition for a Rana to visit the Mughal Court.

The Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV. P. 22 also mentions about an application for help which the Rana sent to the Emperor. It is just possible that the Rani might have sent the application on behalf of the Rana.

[13] It is locally called Rakhi, primarily a protective amulet assumed at the full moon of Sawan. Those who exchange it are called Rakhi-Dora-ka-Bhai-Bahan; brothers and sisters of bracelet.

[14] MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, F. 81 (b).

[15] Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV. P. 22.
MS. Vanshavali Ranajini, F. 63 (b).

[16] MS. Humayun-nama of Khwandamir, (S.B.L.), P. 82-85.
" " " (Eng. Tr.). P. 61.
Gulbadan's Humayun-nama (Beveridge), P. 116.

However, the desperate attempt of the Rani to enlist Humayun's help should not be viewed too severely; for she realised that no power except that of Delhi could be considered as a match for Bahadur Shah. But where she miscalculated was in relying on the friendliness of Humayun. Humayun being a pious Musalman, did not want, at any rate, at that moment, to quarrel with a fellow Musalman to aid an 'infidel'. She had staked her all on the aid from Humayun, having alienated by this act of hers her feudal nobles whose pride was deeply hurt by a Rajput of begging for aid at the hands of a Muslim. They, therefore, stood aloof and watched Chitor falling a prey to Gujarat arms (without lifting a finger to save it). This was the price she had to pay for her mistake.

In the meantime Tatar Khan, Bahadur Shah's general, proceeded to besiege the fort. Posting his men on all sides, he launched a successful attack at two of the gates of the fort on the 31st Jan., 1533 A.D. The Gujarat army was further strengthened when Muhammad Khan Asiri and Khudawand Khan had also reached there with their respective contingents on the 3rd Feb. 1533 A. D. The assailants got courage when during the course of the expedition the Sultan also reached there personally. The siege operations were under the supreme charge of Rumi Khan whose artillery fire began to tell heavily upon rocks and buildings and brought the defences into confusion.[17]

Thus deprived of external help and internal co-operation the Rani had to purchase peace[18] by offering the trophies of Malwa, golden girdle and jewelled crown

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The Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV. P. 22.
Banerji: Humayun, P. 87.

[17] Mirat-i-Sikandari, (P.T.) P. 262.
MS. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, (S.B.L.) Vol. I, P. 118.

Al-Badaoni in his Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh (Persian Text) Vol. I, 344 is not right when he refers to this Bahadur's and had to present a large sum of money along with 100 horses and 10 elephants as tribute. Bahadur raised the siege on the 24th March, 1533 A. D. and returned to Gujarat.

Such a desperate device could not bring peace to Mewar and the averting of Bahadur's danger gave only a temporary respite to the Sisodias. War clouds began to hover again over the horizon of Chitor owing to the lack of political insight on the part of Vikram. He could learn nothing by experience. By his fondness for worthless minions, and by the sanction which he gave to their tyranny and rapacity, he kept discontent constantly alive. His haughty behaviour compelled the nobles to migrate to Gujarat and to instigate[19] Bahadur Shah to again invade Mewar. An ambitious man like Bahadur seized the opportunity and opened a campaign against Chitor.

At this very time Humayun was on his way to

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invasion of Chitor against Rana Sanga whom he has mistaken for Rana Vikramaditya.

MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, F. 84 (b) mentions that Bahadur's army and the Rana's force had their first encounter at Loicha (near Bundi) in which the Rana was defeated.

The Cambridge History, Vol. III. P. 530 also gives the account of this encounter at Loicha before Bahadur laid a siege against Chitor.

18. Mirat-i-Sikandari (P.T.), PP. 262-263.

Akbarnama, (Persian Text) Vol. I. P. 158.

Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. I. P. 344.

MS. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, (S. B. L.) Vol. I. P. 118.

According to Nensi, F. 14 (b) Udai Singh, the brother of Vikramaditya was sent as a hostage to the court of the Sultan which seems unlikely.

Bayley: History of Gujarat, P. 372.

Banerji: Humayun, P. 87.

19. MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, F. 84 (b).

fight Bahadur who had sometimes before given shelter to the Mughal emperor's cousin Muhammad Zaman Mirza, a rebel and refugee from Bayana. Bahadur Shah anxious to complete the conquest of Chitor before Humayun could reach and open an offensive against him, pushed the siege with vigour. At the same time Bahadur had a recourse to a clever stratagem for preventing Humayun from interfering, and wrote to him to the effect that as he was engaged in a fight against the infidels he expected that the emperor would not interfere and allow him to reduce Chitor and exalt the Muslim faith. Humayun who did not possess either the skill of a consummate-general or shrewdness of a politician considered the imperial advance as an unreligious act. He, therefore, postponed his further advance.[20]

This inaction and want of foresight of the emperor have been defended by Dr. Banerji[21] on the ground

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20. MS. Tezkereh-ul-Vakiat of Jauhar, (S.B.L.), FF. 6-7.
Mirat-i-Sikandari, (P. T.), PP. 265-272.
Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. I. P. 160.
Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. I. P. 346.
Firishta: Tarikh-i-Firishta, (Persian Text), P. 214.

Firishta mentions that he was advised by Sadar Khan, his Minister, that Humayun would not attack him while he was engaged in a war with non-Muslims.

21. Dr. Banerji says in his Humayun, PP. 118-119 :—"It must not, however, be supposed that Humayun was here meekly carrying out the wishes of the Gujaratis; for though technically he did not violate the Muslim convention of refraining from an attack on a brother-in-faith engaged in war with the unbelievers, actually he gained an advantage over his enemy". According to Dr. Banerji the advantages were :—

(a) "He occupied a part of the enemy's territories and obtained a hold on its resources.

(b) Humayun by his stay at Sarangpur and at Ujjain was able to win over the Malwa people, including the Purbia Rajputs whom Bahadur had offended, that thereby Humayun acquired several political advantages over his enemy. But one fails to see any such advantage. His Muslim convictions proved ruinous to his cause and destructive to the Rajputs. If at the proper moment he had attacked Bahadur, Humayun could have killed two birds with one stone, fulfilling his duty of chivalry by responding to the Rajput appeal, and saving himself from the botheration of following Bahadur from place to place. Humayun, however, was guided by intuitions and inspirations rather than by cool inference from carefully surveyed facts. It was ordained that Chitor should be laid waste and Humayun to carry to his grave the blame that he could not keep his promise even when there was an opportunity to do so. Sri Ram Sharma[22] rightly observes, "He sacrificed his own chances of an easy success against Bahadur Shah rather than interfere in his chances of earning religious merit by defeating an infidel". Even his biographer Dr. Banerji[23] admits that "Humayun, probably, never realised the advantages that he threw

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(c) He placed himself between Mandugarh and the Gujarat army and this made it impossible for his adversary to reach the Malwa capital without passing through his camp.

(d) Even after the capture of Chitor if Bahadur were to attempt to reach Ahmadabad along with his heavy gun, it would be easy for the lightly equipped Humayun to out-distance him.

(e) In a war between Bahadur and the Mughals, it was possible for Humayun to receive some indirect support from the Rajputs who had surrendered themselves to the Sultan in the north and in the west. They must have sent provisions to him".

None of these so-called advantages have any substance in them.

[22] Sri Ram Sharma: The Religious Policy of the Mughals, P. 10.

[23] Banerji: Humayun, P. 118, Footnote No. 3.

away by not proceeding immediately to the aid of the Rajputs; for he might have, if he had chosen earned their permanent gratitude by the timely aid".

Thus when Humayun unheroically withdrew and encamped at Sarangpur[24] Bahadur commenced his operation of the siege of Chitor in Jan. 1535. The sole charge of the attack was entrusted to Rumi Khan who as before occupied a neighbouring hillock at the south-western extremity of the fort just opposite to Bika Khoh[25].

When the impending danger could no longer be averted, Karmeti stood equal to the task and adopted the right course by requesting the Rajput heroes to assemble under the crimson banner of the Sisodias in order to defend the hearths and homes of the people of Chitor. Her appeal had a desired effect. All the chiefs rushed from different quarters of Mewar for the defence of the capital. Unpopular Vikram and young Uda were sent away to Bundi and the sole charge of direction of defence was entrusted by the council of war to Bagh Singh[26] of Deolia Pratapgarh who lost no time in posting various commanders[27] at different points to oppose the assailants.

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24. Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. I. P. 160, says Ujjain.
Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. I. P. 346.
Firishta: Tarikh-i-Firishta, (P.T.) P. 214.

25. Mirat-i-Sikandari, (P.T.), PP. 261-262.
MS. Mirat-i-Ahmadi (S.B.L.), Vol. I. PP. 119-120.
MS. Tezkereh-ul-Vakiat by Jauhar, (S.B.L.) FF. 4-7.

26. MS. Vanshavali Sri Ranajini, F. 63 (b).
MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, F. 86 (a).

As Bagh Singh assumed the dignity of the Rana he was addressed as 'Diwanji', the title of the Rana. The descendants of Bagh Singh still enjoy the title of Diwan (Vir Vinod, Vol. II. P. 33).

27. According to MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, F. 85 (b), 86 (a) and Vir Vinod, Vol. II. P. 30 they were :—

Early in March, 1535 Rumi Khan's artillery became active against the south-western defences of the Rajputs. Hada Arjun who was defending this point stood to his last which made it impossible for the assailants to enter the fort from that direction, although Rumi Khan was successful in hurling down the walls to the extent of thirty yards near Bika Khoh by means of mining operations. Nearly five hundred Rajputs suffered death by this action. In order to keep the defences intact on this side many Rajputs from other posts ran to check the further progress of the enemy. At last Rumi Khan finding his task difficult ordered his men to rush to the other defences of the fort. The enemy artillery did such fierce execution that the Rajputs thought it desirable to open the main gate of the fort where Bhairo Das was leading and fight the enemy in the open but the superior might of the enemy overwhelmed the Rajputs who died the heroic death along with Bagh at Bhairo Pol, where his 'Chhatri' stands to this day. The other notables who gloriously met their end were Solanki Bhairo Das, Raja Rana Sajja, Rawat Duda, Rawat Devi Das, Purohit Narain Das, Rawat Singha etc. But before the gates were opened Rani Karmeti had committed 'Jauhar' followed by 13,000 women. Innocent children numbering about 3,000 were thrown into the pit or into the wells in order to save them falling into Muslim hands. The total casualties were of 32,000 men who either fell fighting in their action or who fell a prey to the enemy assassins' swords.[28]

The victorious army then entered the fort and

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Bagh Singh took his post at Bhairo Pol; Solanki Bhairo Das and Jhala Sajja were stationed at Hanuman Pol and Ganesh Pol respectively; Hada Arjun was posted at Bika Khoh and other chiefs of repute were posted either at Lakhota Bari or Suraj Pol.

[28] MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, F. 85 (a) (b), 86 (a) (b).
MS. Vanshavali Ranajini, F. 14 (a).
MS. Nensi's Khyat Gujarat, F. 199 (b).

opened fire and plundered the houses and carried on destructive ravages[29]. The fort was captured on the 8th of March, 1535[30].

Immediately after the reduction of Chitor and its occupation by Bahadur, Humayun who had proceeded as far as Mandasor[31] prepared to launch an attack on Bahadur. The Sultan of Gujarat was, therefore, obliged to leave a garrison at Chitor under the charge of Burhan-ul-Mulk Banbani[32] and proceeded in the direction of Mandasor to face the Mughals. The moment Bahadur left Chitor, the Rajputs rallied their scattered strength and occupied the fort with the help of 5000 to 7000 men. Vikram was recalled from Bundi and the reinstallation of Sisodias in Chitor was accomplished.[33]

Tradition has it that Humayun visited Chitor after his victory over Bahadur and reinvested Vikramaditya as a ruler of Mewar. This is, however, not borne out by sober history. Humayun visited Chitor on the 8th of June, 1536. A. D.[34], not to perform the investiture ceremony of the Rana but to settle his scores with his brother Askari who had not only abandoned his charge at Ahmadabad but had also set himself as king in opposition to Humayun[35]. This shows that the Rajputs had re-occupied Chitor as soon as Bahadur Shah's back was turned. Vikramaditya was, therefore, the 'de facto' and 'de jure' ruler of Mewar long before Humayun's visit to Chitor had taken place.

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[29] MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, F. 86 (b).
D. Ross: Arabic History of Gujarat, P. 230.

[30] Mirat-i-Sikandari (P.T.). P. 274.
Abul Fazl: Akbarnama (Persian Text) Vol. I. P. 160.
MS. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Vol. I. p. 122.

[31] MS. Tezkereh-ul-Vakiat of Jauhar (S.B.L.), FF. 4-7.
Gulabadan: Humayun-nama (Beveridge), P. 131.
Akbarnama (Persian Text), Vol. I. P. 160.
MS. Vanshavali Ranajini, F. 64 (a).

[32] MS. Mirat-i-Sikandari (P.T.), P. 274.
MS. Mirat-i-Ahmadi (S.B.L.) Vol. I. P. 123.

[33] Nensi's Khyat (Gujarat), F. 199 (b).
Vir Vinod, Vol. II. PP. 32-33.
Ojha: Udaipur Rajya Ka Itihas, Vol. I. P. 400.

[34] Banerji: Humayun, P. 168.

Humayun had failed to appreciate the fact that the Rajputs of Rajasthan had not fallen beyond redemption and that they were likely to play an important role in the politics of the country. Much less could he imagine that an alliance would convert them into a bulwark of the Mughal family and the Mughal Empire. Had he been as gifted and foresighted a statesman as his son (Akbar) he would not have allowed religious feelings to over-ride considerations of statesmanship. That policy was, however, reserved for Akbar, the great, who successfully harnessed the Rajput loyalty and heroism to the furtherance of his scheme of making himself the Lord paramount of India.

As for the dowager queen Karmeti and her two sons Vikramaditya and Udai Singh, history cannot but look upon them a mediocre personalities who reduced the reputation of Mewar and its ruling house to the lowest ebb. Karmeti showed energy and ideas but her policy was confused and based on narrow self-interest. Little did she understand that Humayun possessed no chivalry or magnanimity for non-Muslims however brave and deserving. Vikramaditya, the nominal ruler acted no better than a tool in the hands of his mother. If Mewar was recovered from the hands of Sultan Bahadur's men it was not due to the valour of its ruler but to the circumstances of the time. The most panegyric of bards has not a word to say in praise of Vikramaditya.

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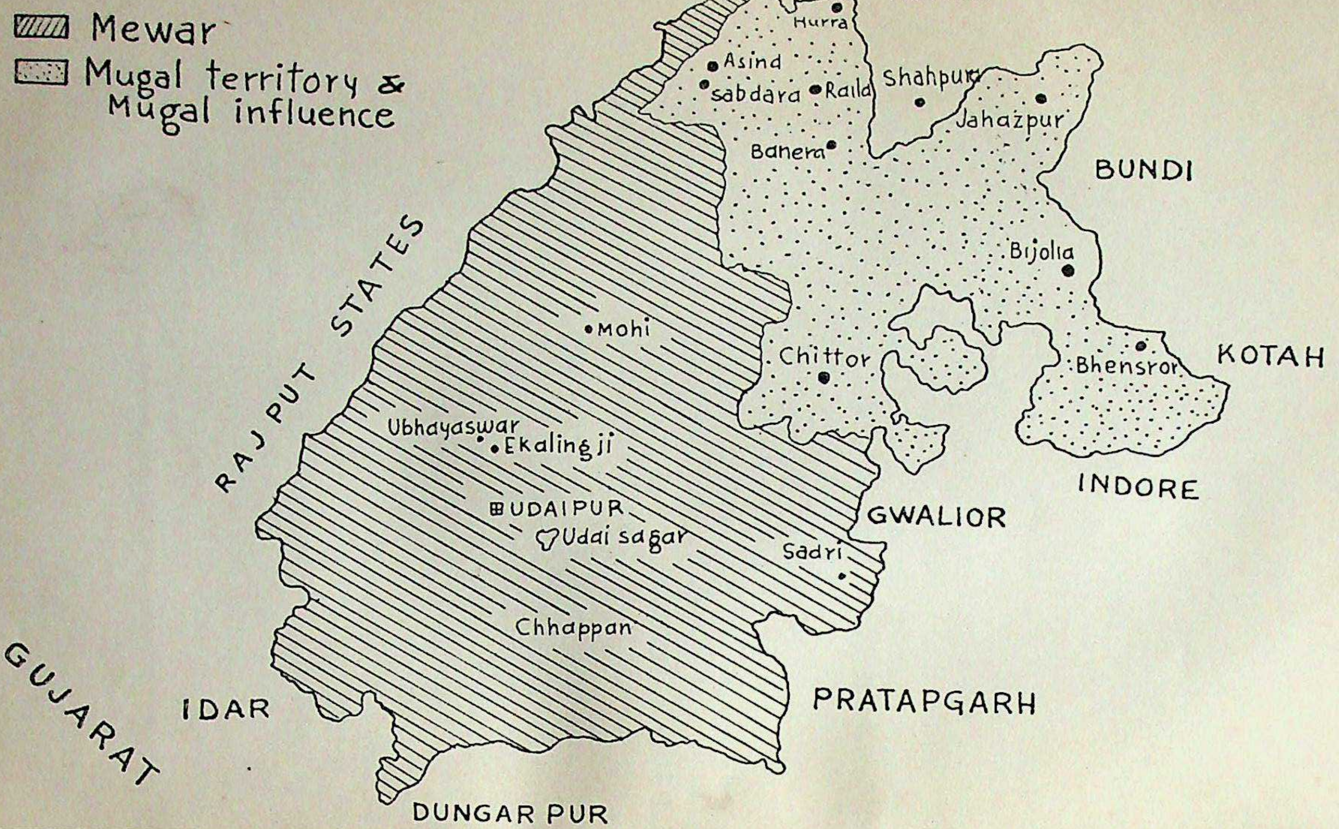
35: Gulbadan: Humayun-nama (Beveridge) PP. 132-133.

# MEWAR in 1567 A.D.


▨ Mewar
▒ Mugal territory & Mugal influence
AJMER
Kania
Hurra
Asind
sabdara
Raild
Shahpura
Jahazpur
Banera
BUNDI
Bijolia
Chittor
Bhensror
KOTAH
INDORE
GWALIOR
Mohi
RAJPUT STATES
Ubhayaswar
Ekalingji
UDAIPUR
Udai sagar
Sadri
Chhappan
PRATAPGARH
GUJARAT
IDAR
DUNGAR PUR

## CHAPTER IV

# UDAI SINGH AND AKBAR : THE TRAGIC END OF CHITOR.

( 1536—1572 A. D. )

A great change had come about in the position of Mewar and in the spirit of the Mughal power, during the period between the events we have just related and the tragedy to which we are coming. Vikramaditya's continued offensive and arrogant attitude terminated in his murder by the nobles who raised Vanbir, an illegitimate son of heroic Prithviraj to the throne of Chitor in 1536 A. D. But Vanbir realized that he would not succeed in perpetuating his rule unless the heir-designate Udai Singh, who still commanded the respect and esteem of the nobility, was got rid of. Therefore, one night, he managed to have access to the palace where the prince was sleeping. But before he arrived the prince had been removed to a place of safety by the cautious and daring action of his nurse Panna[1], a woman of great resourcefulness and sterling devotion to the person of her royal ward. Vanbir gave a blow of his sword to the sleeping boy who was no other person than Panna's own son who had been intentionally placed on the heir-apparent's bed. The murderer thought that he had despatched Udai Singh.

The news of the ghastly murder spread like wildfire throughout the town of Chitor and made people believe that Udai Singh had fallen a victim to Vanbir's sword[2]. But in fact Udai Singh was alive and had been rescued to Kumbhalgarh in 1536[3] by a trusted servant of the palace. He was kept in concealment for about a year.

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[1] The old palaces of Udai Singh where his foster mother left her son to be murdered are still to be seen and are called Panna's palace at Chitor. Panna's name has become proverbial for devotion to her royal ward.

But not long after the news leaked out and gave an occasion to the nobility to gather round him at Kumbhalgarh to acclaim him as their king. It is clear from two copper-plate[4] inscriptions issued from Kumbhalgarh dated 1537 A. D. that he was acknowledged as the rightful king of Mewar by some of the loyal nobles who had left Chitor owing to the unbecoming conduct of Vanbir[5].

Soon after Udai Singh felt himself strong enough to lead an expedition against the usurper, Vanbir. When the news of his approach reached the ears of Vanbir, he was much alarmed and began to organize his forces. But the army of Chitor which was demoralized by indolence and want of patronage was no match for the sturdy partisans of Uda. After a hotly contested engagement Vanbir fled from the battle field and

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2. MS. Vanshavali Sri Ranajini, F. 63(b).

3. Rampol Inscription, V.S.1593 of Vanbir; Currencies of Rajputana, P. 7. Vir Vinod. Vol. II. pp. 60-63. At this time Udai Singh was only fifteen years of age. He was born in the year 1521 A. D. (Nagari Pracharni Patrika; Vol. I. P.115 gives his exact date of birth as the 12th of the bright-half of Bhadrapad, V. S. 1578).

4. One copper-plate referred to above has been preserved in the form of a photograph, Vide No. 306, Mal. V. S. 61 in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur. It was issued by Udai Singh's personal order at Kumbhalgarh on the 15th of the bright-half of Kartik V. S. 1594 (4th Oct. 1537). The other plate No. 306 Mal. 61, dated 9th Oct. 1537, 5th of the Kartika of V. S. 1594 in the same office, records the grant of village 'Bahara' to Badrikesh. The grant was issued from Kumbhalgarh.

5. MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 32 (b).

the crown of Chitor was put on the head of the heir of Sanga in about 1540 A. D. ( V. S. 1597 )[6].

When Udai Singh assumed the reins of office, the kingdom of Mewar was in a state of confusion and chaos. There was lack of prosperity at home and security abroad. A new ruler Sher Shah, who had inflicted one after another two crushing defeats upon Humayun, was consolidating his hold over northern India. Udai Singh, the new ruler of Chitor had not been for more than four years on his ancestral throne before he heard the disturbing news of Sher Shah's march towards his capital about June 1544.[7] After his contest with Maldev of Jodhpur from which he ultimately emerged victorious (about March 1544)[8] though not without a tremendous loss of his men and money, he occupied Jodhpur and from there proceeded victoriously towards Chitor. When he reached Jahazpur[9] where he encamped, Udai Singh feeling himself unable to drive away the invader sent the keys of the fort as a token of surrender.[10] With the terrible experience of his recent war with the Rathors of Jodhpur before him, Sher Shah wisely accepted the offer and desisted from proceeding to Chitor and besiege it. He allowed the Rana to remain in possession of his territory as is clear from Firishta's[11] statement that Sher Shah concluded a treaty with the Rana. Shamas Khan's[12] appointment as the Governor was nominal; probably he was charged with the duty of realising annual tribute from the Rana and seeing that the latter did not repudiate the authority of the Afghan suzerain. Professor Qanungo's observations on Sher Shah's policy towards Rajasthan are worthy of reproduction. "In Rajputana", writes he, "Sher Shah made no attempt to uproot the local chiefs or to reduce them to thorough subjection. He found the task dangerous as well as fruitless. He did not aim at the complete subversion of their independence."[13]

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[6] (a) The date has been deduced from a copper-plate No. 26/B, 133 Jagir Misal V. S. 95 recently discovered by me in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur dated the 1st of the bright-half of Jaith, V. S. 1597 (7th May 1540 A. D.). The plate shows that the Rana gave in grant the village of Kambod to Bagha who had fought in the battle. The battle referred to seems to be no other than the battle with Vanbir. The plate also bears the name of his minister Sooja-Shah.

(b) MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 33 (a).

'वर्षे सप्तनव त्याख्ये गते पंचदशे शते
उदयसिंहे महाबलैर्युतः चित्रकूटे प्रविष्टः'

[7] Abbas : Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, (M. S.), F. 69 (b), Qanungo: Sher Shah, P. 332.

[8] Abbas : Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, F. 69 (b), 70 (a), Qanungo : Sher Shah, P. 329.

[9] This must have been the place which is referred to by Abbas (Vide Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, F. 70. 'Dawazda Karva mand'. The palace of Jahazpur, situated on the bank of

Immediately after Sher Shah's death Chitor seems to have driven away the Afghan garrison and freed itself from the foreign domination. We know it from sober history that in July, 1545 Maldev of Jodhpur

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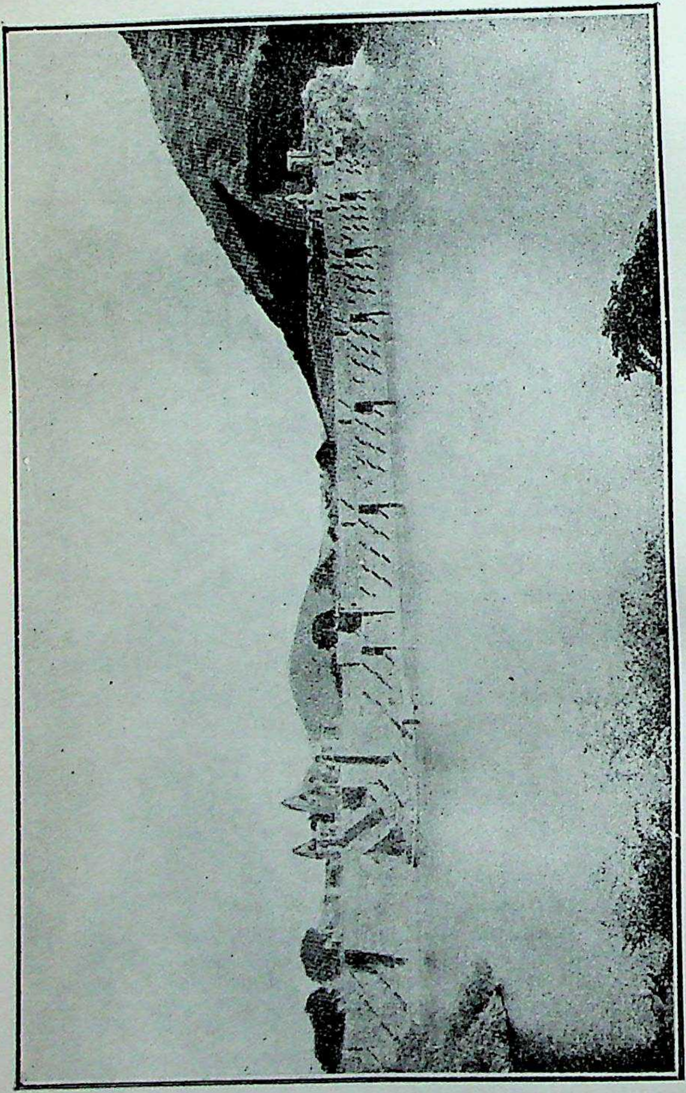
the river Nagdi, and now used as the Tahsil Office, is ascribed to Sher Shah's time. This fact supports Abbas' statement.

[10] Abbas : Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, (S.B.L.), F. 70(b). 'Kilid Kila Firistad' Firishta's statement 'Sher Shah now marched against the fort of Chitor which surrendered by capitulation'. (Tarikh-i-Firishta, (Briggs, p. 123) cannot be accepted as against Abbas' statement which is clear and precise.

[11] Firishta, (Persian Text) (P. 228) clearly writes that Sher Shah returned back after concluding a treaty (suleh) with the Rana. 'Chitor rafta ba suleh giraft'.

[12] Abbas: Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, F. 70(b),

[13] Qanungo: Sher Shah, P. 333.



Udai Sagar

had recovered his territory from the hands of Afghans and banished all traces of Afghan rule. Chitor must have followed suit.

This nominal occupation of Chitor by a foreign power was an eye-opener to the Rana. He realized the futility of staking everything on the defences of a fort that lay exposed in the open and sought out a new site for his capital in Girwa, a mountainous district in the Udaipur Division, which was well protected by natural ramparts of one hill after another and was not easily accessible. His construction work began in V.S. 1616 (1559 A.D.) when the foundation of Udaipur[14] was laid. A lake named Udai Sagar[15] was constructed about the same year[16]. This was not all. He launched upon a plan to inhabit the outer and inner Girwa by giving grant of land in profusion to bring a large tract of area under cultivation. More than fifty copper plates[17] recently discovered in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur show that Udai Singh's policy was to attract people from the northern part of his state, which was then exposed to foreign attack, to the vicinity of his newly established capital where he assigned land to many prominent families of his supporters. The grants were not made in a light-hearted fashion. There lay at the back of them a deep-rooted policy whose soundness was proved by the fact that the people of this area became a bulwark of defence against the Mughals during the reigns of Udai Singh and his son, the famous Pratap. The Rana also entered into a political alliance with Rao Surjan of Bundi (1554 A.D.)[18] and attacked and defeated Haji Khan Pathan of Ajmer (1556 A. D.)[19]. He also gave shelter to Man Singh Deora of Sirohi[20] in 1562 A.D. He subdued the Rathors of Bhomat and

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[14] MS. Suryavansha, F. 52 (a).
Ojha : Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas, Vol. I. P. 421.

[15] The lake lies eight miles east of Udaipur, and is 2½ miles long and 1½ miles broad. It drains 185 miles of country. The water is held up by a lofty dam of massive stone blocks, thrown across a narrow outlet between two hills, a little south of Deobari at the eastern entrance to the Girwa or Udaipur valley. The embankment has an average breadth of 180 ft. (R. G.—Mewar. Residency. P. 9.)

[16] A copper-plate inscription No. 796 recently discovered in the Commissioner's Office, at Udaipur, dated the 30th of the dark-half of Magh, V. S. 1616 (7th Feb. 1559 A. D.) makes mention of the grant of land given at Udai Sagar and shows that by that time the lake associated with his name had come into existence.

[17] Malikheda-Grant, No. 666, dated 2nd of the bright-half of Phalgun, V. S. 1717 to Baba Shukalpuri.

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Jhalodiya-Grant, No. 492, dated the 15th of the Kartika, V. S. 1617 to Pitamber.

Karda-Grant, No. 565, dated the 13th of the bright-half of Vaishakh, V. S. 1617 to Kesho Ram.

Chhibda-Grant, No. 65 dated the 15th of the bright-half of Vaishaka, V. S. 1617 to Permanand.

Kalhola-Grant, No. 605, dated the 2nd of the bright-half of V. S. 1617, to Gopal Trivedi.

Halad-Grant, No. 151 of the 15th of the bright-half of Vaishakha, V. S. 1621, to Manohar Giri.

Manka-Grant, No. 190 dated the 5th of the bright-half of V. S. 1621, to Goswami Malpuri.

Dudara-Grant, No. 204, dated the 9th of the bright-half of Chaitra, V. S. 1621 to Sevak Gopi.

The other grants are Nos. 752, 717, 394, 430, 786, 598, 618, 661, 13, 62, 78, 104, 157, 183, 198, 205, 222, 265, 267, 273, 306, 308, 334, etc.

18. Vir Vinod, Vol. II. PP. 69-70.

19. Akbarnama, P.T., Vol. II, P. 56. Nensi's Khyat, F. 17 (a) (b), 18 (a).

MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 33 (b).

"अजमेरिस जग्राह सुरतानाय तां ददौ
रावाय सर्व वेरांच पठानेभ्यो गृहीतवान्"

20. Ojha : Sirohi Rajya ka Itihas, PP. 207-14.

established his authority over Juda, Ogna and Panarwa in the south-western part of his state (1563 A. D.)[21]. Thus Udai Singh was successful in making his position safe by internal organization and tentative attempts at widening his power beyond Mewar. The administration of the country again resumed its old vigour and energy. Confidence was placed by granting lands as referred to above with people who had given proof of their courage and loyalty.

But the repose which the country enjoyed during the major part of his reign was not destined to continue for long. Greater calamities were awaiting Mewar and she had to taste further troubles as a result of the designs of the greatest of the Mughal ruler, Akbar, a statesman whose fame was growing with time, a mind open and accessible to those ideas and endowed with such gifts of skill, vigilance, caution which were destined to play a large part in the growth of Mughal sovereignty.

Let us briefly note, then, the causes and the courses of the gigantic struggle between the Mughal power and Mewar.

Abul Fazl[22], the court historian, ascribes the invasion of Mewar by his master to the need for punishing the Rana's audacious and arrogant pride due to his possession of big castles and mountains. According to Nizamuddin[23] and Badaoni[24] the cause of the invasion was that the Rana had extended his hospitality to Baz Bahadur of Malwa (1562 A. D.). Mr. Smith[25] says that the causes of the invasion were the political expediencies and economic necessities implied in Akbar's aspiring for the domination of the whole Hindustan.

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[21] MS. Sisod Vanshavali, F. 23 (b).

[22] Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. PP. 380-381.

[23] Nizamuddin: Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Eng. Tr.) Vol. II. P. 262.
MS. Mausir-ul-Umara, (S. B. L.), Vol. I. P. 123 (a), 124 (b).

[24] Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarik (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 102.
Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Eng. Tr.), Vol.II.P. 48.

But there is one important point which must not be lost sight of. Some modern writers[26] have tried to show that all Rajput chiefs had submitted to Akbar and it was Mewar alone that had held aloof and disclaimed entering into an alliance with the Mughal emperor; whereas Akbar did not like that one solitary state in Rajasthan should refuse to have anything to do with the paramount power like his and that was why he was compelled to take up arms against the Rana. This thesis is disapproved by the sober facts of history. Before Akbar had launched an expedition against Chitor in October, 1567, the only Rajput family of note that had entered into an alliance with him was the Kachhwaha family of Amber (1562)[27]. In Rajasthan proper Akbar had acquired one important fortress before his siege of Chitor that was Merta (1562)[28]. Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer, the major states had not yet shown any sign of entering into any friendly alliance with Akbar. The truth, therefore, was that Akbar must have felt that if he could bring about the reduction of Chitor and convert the Rana into his vassal other Rajput states in Rajasthan, like Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer would submit without fighting. And Akbar was right. His policy was based on a correct understanding of the politics of Rajasthan and the psychology of the Rajput chieftains of the time. Within two or three years of the fall of Chitor the rulers of Ranthambhor

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[25] Smith : Akbar the Great Mogul, P. 82.

[26] Satis Chandra Mitra & D. N. Ghosh : Pratap Singha, P. 38.

[27] The Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV. P. 81.

[28] The Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV. P. 82.

(1569)[29], Jodhpur (1570)[30], Bikaner (1570)[31], and Jaisalmer (1570)[32] submitted to Delhi and entered into Matrimonial alliances with Akbar. Secondly, apart from the above psychological reason the security of Akbar's newly conquered dominion lay in establishing his supremacy over Rajasthan, particularly Mewar, whose ruler had given shelter, as we have seen, to Baz Bahadur of Malwa in 1562 A. D. A little before this time the Rana had welcomed at his court Jaimal of Merta who was defeated by Sharaf Uddin Husain (1562 A. D.)[33] and driven out of that powerful fortress. Thirdly, without bringing Mewar, or at least Chitor and a portion of its territory Akbar's expansion in the direction of Gujarat, which he coveted was an impossibility. And finally, it became necessary for Akbar to move against Udai Singh, as Abul Fazl[34] says, because Sakti Singh, the second son of the Rana, then in attendance at Akbar's court had fled to Chitor from Dholpur in Sep. 1567 A. D. without leave on a jestful remark of Akbar and reported to his father that Akbar was making preparations for the invasion of his country. In that age of chivalry it was necessary that Akbar should show that he was not merely joking, specially when several weighty reasons existed in favour of an expedition to Chitor. It should not be forgotten that the Rana and Akbar were hereditary adversaries and the father of the reigning Sisodia chief and the grandfather of the Mughal emperor had engaged in deadly conflict for the supremacy in the country only about forty years before. Akbar was more ambitious than Babur and his interest lay in India. Hence it was inevitable for him to come into clash with the first Rajput chief in the country.

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[29] The Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV. P. 100.

[30] The Cambridge History of India, P. 102.

[31] The Cambridge History of India, P. 102.

[32] The Cambridge History of India, P. 102.

[33] Nizamuddin : Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 283.

Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II, P. 102.

MS . Sisod Vanshawali, F. 22 (b).

[34] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 380.
" " (Eng. Tr.), Vol. II. P. 442-443.

Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 225.

MS. Davavet Udai Singhjiri, F. 3.

Udai Singh who had already been informed of Akbar's intention by Sakti Singh and who was fully alive to the approaching danger lost no time in calling a council[35] of his 'Umraos', chief Sardars, merchants and leading citizens of the town to decide how to defend the homes and hearths in that critical moment. After considering and discussing several personal and public aspects of the problem it was decided that Udai Singh should retire to the defiles of western Mewar. It was a startling suggestion, and was naturally not at first welcomed by Udai Singh. But he bowed down to the inevitable. When the general assembly made a decision, he could not overrule it. The moment was one of great gravity and required to be met with calmness, firmness, and complete unanimity. Any difference of opinion would lead to serious calamities. It was of urgent necessity to present an united front to the enemy from the fort as well as outside it.

Thus forced by political and traditional bindings

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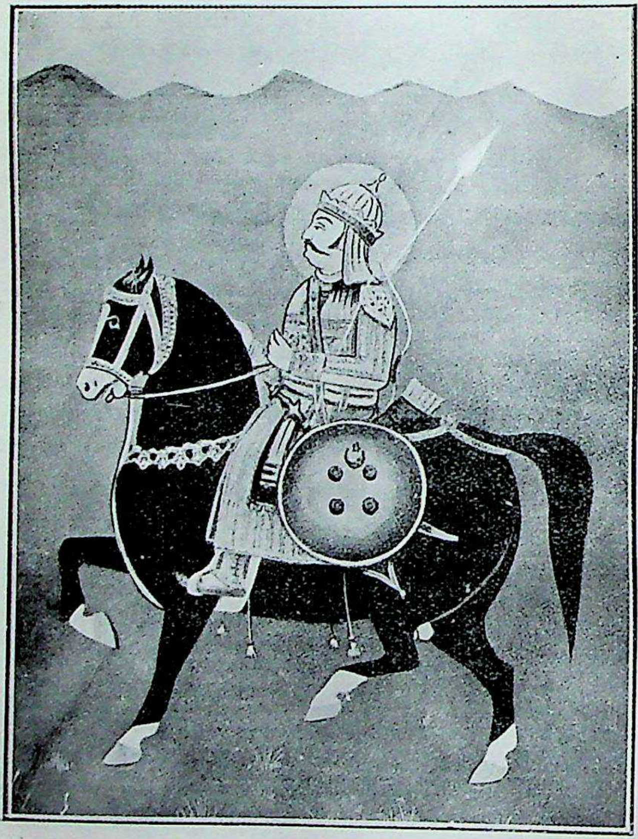
[35] MS. Davavet Udai Singhjiri, FF. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

Vir Vinod, Vol. II PP. 74-75 gives the names of the chiefs of Mewar who were present there in the meeting. They were:—Jagmal Vikram Devot, Rawat Saindas Chundawat, Isardas Chauhan, Rao Ballu Solanki, Rao Sangram Singh, Rao Sahib Khan, Rawat Patta, Rawat Nait Singh, Prince Pratap and Sakti Singh.



Jaimal

the Rana left[36] the fort, secure in its insularity of deep valley and steep ascents, re-inforced by 7 or 8,000[37] brave Rajputs under the able command of Jaimal and Patta. Before leaving the fort he had strengthened it with ample provision[38] of food and materials of war and devastated the surrounding country so that even grass might not be procured by the invading enemies[39]. One thousand musketeers who were called from Kalpi were also kept ready to discharge fire on the assailants[40].

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[36] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 395.

Nizamuddin : Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), P. 283 Tarikh-i-Alfi, Elliot, Vol. V. P. 170.

Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text). Vol. II, P. 103.

[37] Nizamuddin : Tabaqat-i- Akbari, (Persian Text), P. 283.

Tarikh-i-Alfi, Elliot, Vol. V. P. 170.

Tarikh-i-Firishta, (Persian Text), P. 257.

Abul Fazl in his Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 395 gives 5000. This number is followed by Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 226.

MS. Sisod Vanshavali, F. 25 (a) gives 12,000, a number which is too big to believe.

[38] Out of other provisions salt was stored. In one of the cellar of the ruined palace of Chitor there is still a great quantity of salt which the tradition ascribes to Rana Udai Singh's time. With the permission of the Dy. Collector I had an access to the Cellar and obtained a big crust of salt which still lies in my possession.

Similarly as regards the provision of war large number of stone-backs each weighing not less than a md. were kept ready on the walls of the fort to be rolled down or to be discharged from catapults. Recently I have picked up a few stone-balls from the fort and have preserved them in Maharana College, Udaipur by the orders of the Rajasthan Govt.

[39] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 395. 'Virankar ta ainake giyaha dar sera namand'

Iqbalnama, P. T. Vol. II P. 226.

MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 36 (a).

[40] Abul Fazl ; Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 408.

But this act of the Rana has made Tod (P. 372), Havell (P.467); Smith (in his Akbar, P.85) Tod (Annals Vol. I. P. 372) K. Das (Vol.III. P. 86) Mr. Ojha (in his U.R.I. Vol. I. P. 422) & S. R. Sharma (Pratap. P. 12) condemn him as coward; unheroic and unpatriotic. But the censure of these writers is unmerited. No contemporary Muslim historian denounces his act. Udai Singh cannot be denounced a coward as his wars with Vanbir, Haji Khan and Rathors, referred to above show his qualities as a soldier. The misplaced severity of history cannot deny him his valour as a soldier, or even his ability as an experienced general. In obeying the council, he exhibited good sense and loyalty to the feudal order, and in leaving the fort he had shown a new line of military action. But unfortunately posterity, aware of the heroic struggle of Pratap and Sanga, condemned him without making an adequate allowance for the circumstances. It was his ill luck that he came in between these two heroic personalities of the history of Mewar whose valour and achievements have dwarfed his personality. We should rather praise his sense of action which, though greatly jeopardising his personal reputation, was in the best interests of his country.

In the meantime Akbar reached Chitor on the 23rd October, 1567[41] A. D. with a huge army to lay siege to the historic fort, picturesque in situation, firmly built, and seated on the bank of Gambhiri. He chose a strategical site for encampment in the wide plain[42] on the north-east of the fort extending for

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Iqbalnama. P. T. II. 226-230.

[41] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 395.

[42] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 396.
The central place of encampment is still marked by a column commonly called Akbar's lamp and locally called 'Ubhdivat'. It is of immense blocks of campact white stone, closely fitted to each other with its height thirty feet, the base twelve feet square and summit four feet. It has a staircase inside and there are seven openings in it to

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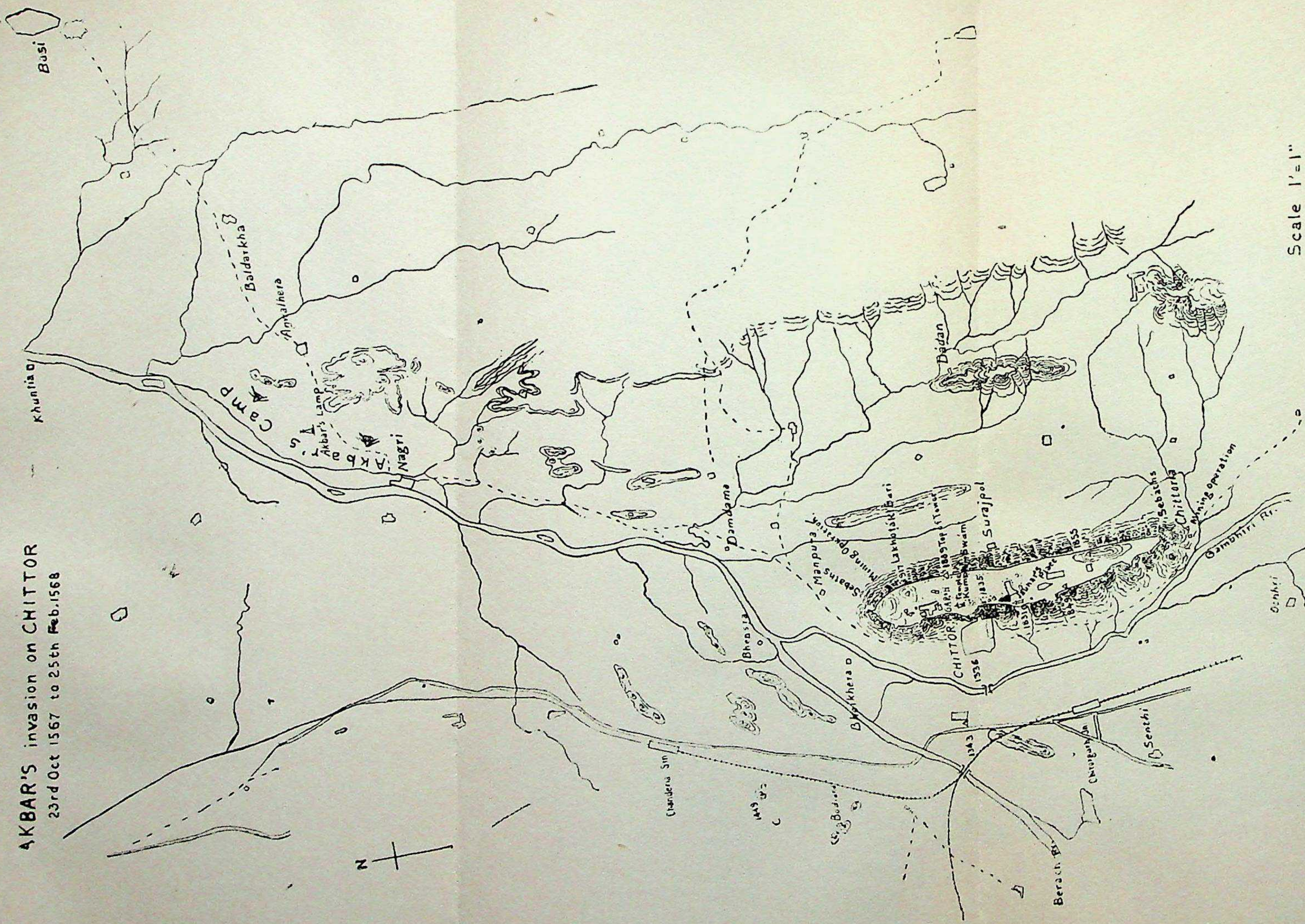

AKBAR'S invasion on CHITTOR
23rd Oct 1567 to 25th Feb. 1568

Scale 1"=1"

Busi
Baldarkha
Amalhera
Khuntia
Akbar's Camp
Akbar's Lamp
Nagri
Damdama
Dadan
Mining Operation
Lakhota Bari
1809 Top of Tower
Surajpol
Sebaths
Manpura
Kumbha Swami
Gadh
CHITTOR
1836
1835
1851
1849
1855
Ratna Pol
Sebaths
Chittoria
Mining operation
Gambhiri Ri.
Bhensia
Bhairukhera
1843
Chanderia Stn
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several miles between the villages[43] Pandoli, Kabara and Nagari with thick forest on three sides and a river on the west.

Having secured his position he had the base of the fort surveyed and then posted capable generals on different points in order to encircle it[44]. At the same time a device to capture the Rana was made and Husain Quli Khan was appointed for the purpose[45]. He rambled in vain in the vicinity of Udaipur and Kumbhalgarh but no trace of the Rana was found, as according to local annalists[46] lodging his family in the interior of the mountains of Ekling he had been for sometime towards Piplia, a dependency of Mewar and was changing his place of residence from Kumbhalgarh to Kelwada and Gogunda to Ubhayashwar[47], a place in the western side of Udaipur. Finding no trace of the Rana the Mughal general had

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admit light. It appears that it was orginally a seat of Garuda in the huge temple of Vishnu in Nagari in the locality of Hativada where similar pieces of blocks of stones are still lying.

[43] MS. Sisod Vanshavali, F. 22 (b).

[44] Abul Fazl, (Persian Text), Akbarnama, Vol. II. P. 396.
MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 36 (b).

[45] Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. PP. 396-397.
Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), P. 283.
Tarikh-i-Alfi, Elliot, Vol. V. P. 171.
Iqbalnama, P. T. II. P. 226.

[46] MS. Sisod Vanshavali, F. 23 (a).
MS. Suryavansh, F. 52 (a).

[47] Iqbalnama, (P. T.) II. P. 226; Muntakhab. II. P. 103. (P.T.)

Just on the summit of a mountain there stands in Ubhayashwar the palace of Udai Singh in a dilapidated condition. Local tradition ascribes it to the Rana who lived here during the days of his wandering when Chitor was besieged.

to come empty-handed[48]. Meanwhile the siege of Chitor continued leisurely. In spite of all the attempts the besiegers could produce little impression on the Rajputs[49].

Finding the attempts to capture the fort by assault useless, three principal batteries[50] were erected and mines were constructed to create gaps in its walls. The first battery was set up just opposite the Lakhota-gate in the northern side of the fort under the charge of Hasan Khan Chaghatai, Rai Pattar Das, Qazi Ali, Ikhṭiyar Khan Faujdar and Kabir Khan. The second battery was located opposite Suraj Pol in the east under the command of Shujat Khan, Raja Todarmal and Qasim Khan. The third one was erected in the south at Chittori Burj under Khvaja Abdul Mazid and Wazir Khan. In the meantime Sabats* or covered

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[48] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 397.
Nizamuddin : Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text.], P. 283.
Tarikh-i- Alfi, Elliot, Vol. V. P. 171.

[49] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 397.

[50] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text). Vol. II. P. 398.
Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), P. 283.

*Different writers have given different accounts as regards Sabats. Elphinstone: (History of India, PP. 505-507) says that 'they were zig-zags protected by gabions and by earth thrown from the trench.' He further says that 'his trenches are minutely described by Firishta, and closely resemble those of modern Europe.'

Firishta mentions them as follows (Briggs, Vol. II, page 230), 'The Sabats are constructed in the following manner. The zig-zags commencing at gunshot distance from the fort consist of a double wall, and by means of blind or stuffed covered with leather the besiegers continued their approach till they arrive near to the walls of the palace to be attacked.' The accounts of Sabats given by Firishta does not suggest that they were like trenches of Europe as concluded by Elphinstone. Nizamuddin in Tabaqat (Page 344) says, 'Sabat is a word used to express two walls, the foundations of which are laid at a distance of about one ways were built for the safe passage and advance of

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musket-shot (from the fort), and under the protection of planks, which are fastened together by raw hides and are made strong, and forming something like a lane are carried to the walls of the fort, and from all walls of the fort are demolished by cannon balls. Brave young warriors entered the fort by means of the trenches thus made. The sabat which had been carried forward from the royal battery had such a breadth, that ten horsemen could ride abreast inside it, and it was so high that a man mounted on an elephant and with a spear in his hand could pass inside it.' Mr. Irvine, in his Learned Work on the Army of the Indian Mughals, Page 276, considers a sabat to be mainly a trench.

Abul Fazl has not given greater details of Sabats. He says 'on the two sides they produced a broad, mud-walls such that balls could not penetrate it, and it was sinuous in shape' (Akbarnama, Vol. II, P. 468).

The conclusion drawn by Beveridge in the footnote of Akbarnama, Vol. II. P. 468 is worth quoting :—

'From the account of the Sabat given by the contemporary writers it appears that there was not much excavation of the ground and that the Sabat was mainly a covered way above the surface of the ground. It had earthern walls on each side and a roof of planks, etc. which was strong enough to carry a sentry, a box or other house from which a man could fire.'

Kaviraj Shyamal Das in his Vir Vinod, Part II, page 76 calls Sabats as 'Pechdar Chatta' and says that there were holes in the walls to fire at the enemy.

Elliot, Tarikh-i-Alfi, Vol V. Page 171 gives the description of Sabat as :—

'A Sabat is a broad (covered) way, under the shelter of which the assailants approach a fortress secure from the fire of guns and muskets.'

No local annalist has attempted to explain what the Sabats were like. Only MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, folio 36 (a) gives its description which means that the Sabats were walls built by local masons with the help of mud and wood. They were of immense length.

Thus Sabats are not trenches but covered passes defended by walls on both the sides. They cannot be trenches as it is evident from the rocky nature of the ground which would be an act of impossibility for the sappers. As rethe miners[51]. For this erection work nearly five thousand workers were employed and nearly more than one hundred out of them were daily killed in the course of their work by the shots of the Rajputs[52]. When these preparations of a preliminary nature were ready two mines[53] on the northern side of the fort were filled with 120 and 80 md. of gunpowder respectively and were set fire to hurl down two bastions on both the sides of Lakhota-gate. But unfortunately they did not catch fire at the right moment owing to the shortness of match in the shorter mine. Only the first one took fire on the 17th of Dec., 1567 and when the invaders rushed to enter the fort the second mine also took fire and brought devastation to the rushing friends and defending foe alike[54]. A shower of heads, limbs, mutilated trunks the mingled remains of hundreds of

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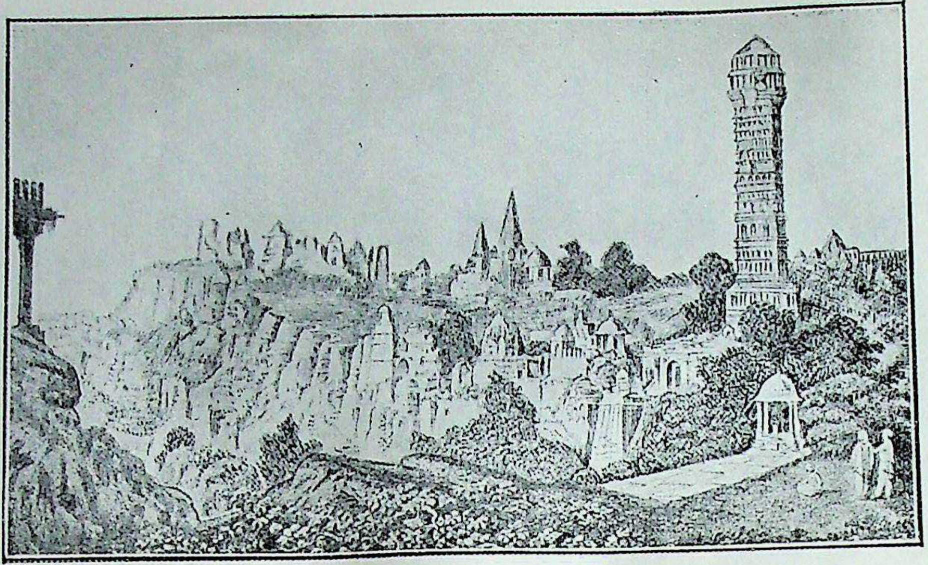
gards the wall it appears that they were prepared by 'Rudda system' in which the local masons are expert. It is a simple method of raising walls of mud-mixing small pebbles with it. The wall is hardened by continued thrashing and hammering. It becomes so strong that it can bear any sort of weight or weather.

[51] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 398. Nizamuddin : Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), P. 283. Tarikh-i-Alfi, Elliot, Vol. V. P. 171; Tarikh-i-Firishta, (Persian Text), P. 257; Iqbalnama, (P. T.) II. P. 227. MS. Sisod Vanshavali, F. 23 (a).

[52] Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Per. Text), P. 283; Tarikh-i-Alfi, Elliot, Vol. V. PP. 171-172.

[53] Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 399. Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 103; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), P. 283; Tarikh-i-Alfi, Elliot. Vol. V. P. 172.

[54] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 400.
Nizamuddin : Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), P. 284.
Tarikh-i-Alfi : Elliot, Vol. V. P. 172.
Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 227.
MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 37 (a),



Fort of Chittor

human beings[55] fell on ground. The noise of explosion resounded in the ether all around for several miles[56]. The ramparts and walls were shattered at many places, but men in the fort worked day and night and repaired the breaches as fast as they were made[57].

The Mughal could make no great head-way in their attacks by mining operations and battery charges due to the strong defence and natural strength of the fort, yet they did not lose heart and continued steadily with the siege[58]. For four months[59] the little garrison held the Mughal host at bay and checked their advance by swords, spears, stones and catapults[60]. However, suddenly the tide of the battle turned in the midst of tremendous efforts and reckless bravery. Jaimal, the spirit of the Rajput defence and the mainstay of their hope while supervising the breaches of the walls near Lakhota-gate was shot dead by a stray bullet from Akbar's gun[61]. With his death matters threatened to come to a close. The fame and fortune of Chitor were at that moment under a cloud. The occurrence had made it evident to the Rajputs that the destruction of the fort and the devastation of their garrison were imminent. Instantly the defenders withdrew into the heart of the fort and chose Patta[62] as their next leader to guide them in the action. In order to deliver their wives and children from the enemies they made them embrace fire. Speechless nurslings and infants embraced the burning fire in the arms of numberless patriotic Rajputnis, headed by the family of Jaimal and Patta, decked in all glory. Accompanied by strains of music and prayer they ascended the pyre

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[55] As regards the loss of life by the accident authorities vary : Akbarnama, (Persian Text). Vol. II. P. 400, gives 200 of the victorious troops. Nizamuddin in his Tabaqat, (Persian Text), P. 284 gives 500. This view is also supported by Firishta, (Persian Text) P. 258.

As for the loss of the Rajputs also these authorities differ:—

Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 400 gives 40.; Tabaqat of Nizamuddin, (Persian Text), P. 284 has vaguely stated, 'of the heathens also multitude perished'.

[56] Abul Fazl's statement, 'the noise of explosion reached to fifty Kos', 'pinjah Karva' is an exaggeration (vide Abul Fazl's Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 400);—Iqbalnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 227 also mentions 50 'Kos', 'pinjah Karva bestar rasid'. The author of Amarkavya Vanshavali, F, 37 (a) is moderate in its expression by limiting it to 5 'Kos', equivalent to 10 miles of our days.

"शब्दो महानेव बभूव पंच क्रोशाविधि (वधि)
स्थायि जनेः श्रुतश्च"

[57] Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 401.
Nizamuddin : Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), P. 284.
MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 37. (b).

[58] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 401.

[59] Badaoni: Muntakhab, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P, 104.

[60] MS, Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 38 (b).

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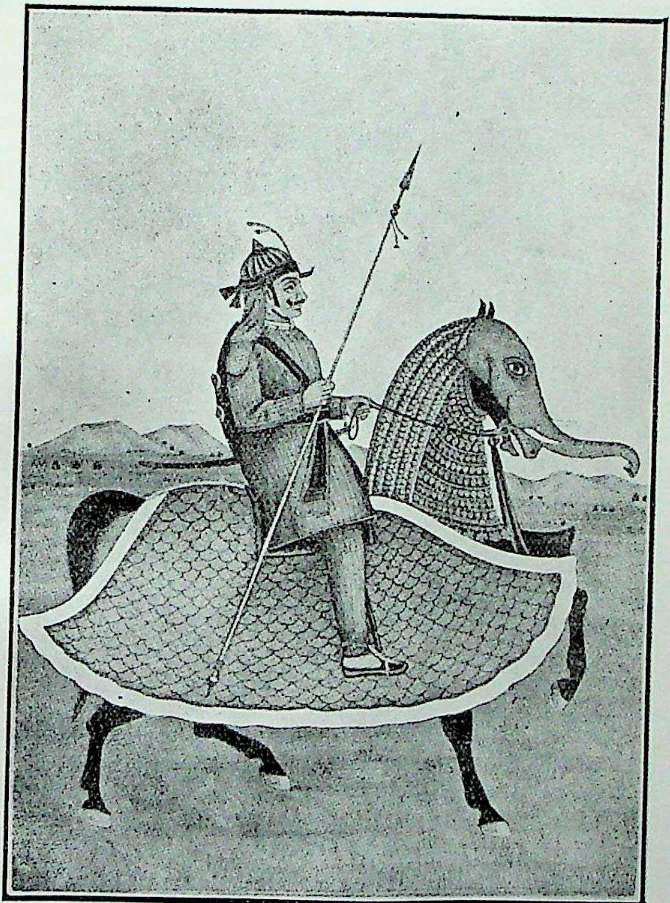
'ततः शरैः कुंतवरैः कृपाणै र्मह गुटी यंत्र गणैश्च संख्ये
विखंडिता दुर्ग भटैः स्व दुर्गे दिल्लीस वीरा बहुशो निपेतुः'

[61] Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol.II. PP. 401-402.
Nizamuddin: Tabaqat, (Persian Text), P. 284.
Badaoni : Muntakhab (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 103.
Tarikh-i-Alfi, Elliot, P. 173.

Mr. Ojha in his Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas, Vol. I. PP. 415-416 holds that Jaimal died next morning and fell a soldier's death at a place between Hanuman Pol and Bhairo Pol. No other Rajput source mentions that he died at the spot given by Mr. Ojha. MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 37 (b) clearly states that Jaimal died at the spot by a hit of Akbar's gun and as such the view of Muslim historians in comparison to Mr. Ojha's view holds the ground. The MS. referred to above says :—

"दिल्लीस संयुक्त गुटी प्र···त श्री जैमलाख्य रवि मंडलं महत
विभिद्य पाते त्रि दिवं हि तस्य वा अंतः पुरे ज्वालित एव तद् भटैः"

[62] MS. Vanshavali, F. 31 (a).



Patta

with serene assurance. Matrons and virgins engaged themselves in this awe-inspiring self-immolation called 'Jauhar'[63] with a courage and self-possession, that makes us wonder. Conscious pride had taught them to suppress every tender emotion that stood in the way of honour and chastity.

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63. Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 404.
Badaoni: Muntakhab, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 104.
Nizamuddin: Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), P. 284.
Tarikh-i-Alfi, Elliot, Vol. V. PP. 173-174.
Iqbalnama, (P.T.) Vol. II. PP. 228-229.
MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 37 (b).

According to MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, F. 72 (b), MS. Vanshavali Adi Param Shivthi, P. 66 (b) and MS. Suryavansh F. 55 (b) the noted Rajputnis who committed the 'Jauhar' were the mother and the nine wives of Patta, and his five daughters and two sons. The names of his mother and wives are as follows :—

Sajjan Bai Sonagri, (Pattas mother), Jiva Bai Solanki, Madalcha Bai, Sarda Bai Rathor, Jhalia Padmavati, Ratan Bai Rathor, Bhagwati Chauhan, Bagadi Chauhan and Ashia bai Parmar (his wives).

It is very often questioned as to where the 'Jauhar' was performed. Several folklores ascribe its occurrence in the fort caves. But this is open to doubt, because there is not a single cave of this dimension in the fort which could have easily been used for the purpose. One cave in Khumbha's palace is pointed out as the place of 'Jauhar'. But a close examination of it has proved that it is merely an inner passage leading to Gaumukh reservoir. Abul Fazl in his Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 404 mentions that there was Jauhar-fire in the houses of Patta, Sahib Khan Chauhan and Isar Das. This indicates that it was celebrated between Samidheswar temple and Bhimlat where the mansions of these chiefs are said to have existed. Several fragmentary pieces of Sati slabs, 'Vir Stambhas' and dilapidated platforms in this area suggest its celebration in this open ground. One 'Vir Stambha' and a 'Sati Stambha' which I have recently discovered from this area have been preserved by me in Maharana College, Udaipur by the orders of the Rajasthan Govt.

When the matrons and children were engaged in this great sacrifice, all men who were fit to bear arms became ready to stake their all for a final attempt. 'Har-Har-Mahadeo', the sounds of cymbals, the thumping of terrible drums, shrieks and screams of barbaric horns resounded the atmosphere. The fort wore the face of stern preparedness which in itself must have daunted the enemy. At daybreak of the desperate day of the 13th of the dark-half of Chaitra, V.S. 1624 (25th Feb. 1563) the whole fort was on arms and its gates thrown open by the death defying inmates. In spite of the tremendous attempts made by the courageous Rajputs the enemies made successful rush from the gates. Between Hanuman Pol and Bhairo Pol there was a fierce fight and Kalla the notable hero of the Rajputs met a heroic death.[64]

Then followed the pouring of the Mughal soldiers who rushed to all sides of the fort with sword and fire. Simultaneously a batch of fifty and then of three hundred elephants were sent with swords in their trunks, the most important of them were Madhukar, Jangiya, Sabdaliya and Kadira who trampled many a warrior to death. Madhukar who was sent inside the fort was seen by Isar Das. He took hold of his tusk and struck a dagger and said, "Be good enough to convey my respects to the world-adoring appreciator of merit". Jangiya killed forty-five of the enemies and Sabdaliya trampled several of the heroes. During the course of this action the emperor riding on an elephant himself was making a round of the fort with his followers. As he reached the temple of Kumbha Shyam Patta's body which was trampled under foot of an elephant was presented before him in half-gasping state who after a short while breathed his last then and there.[65]

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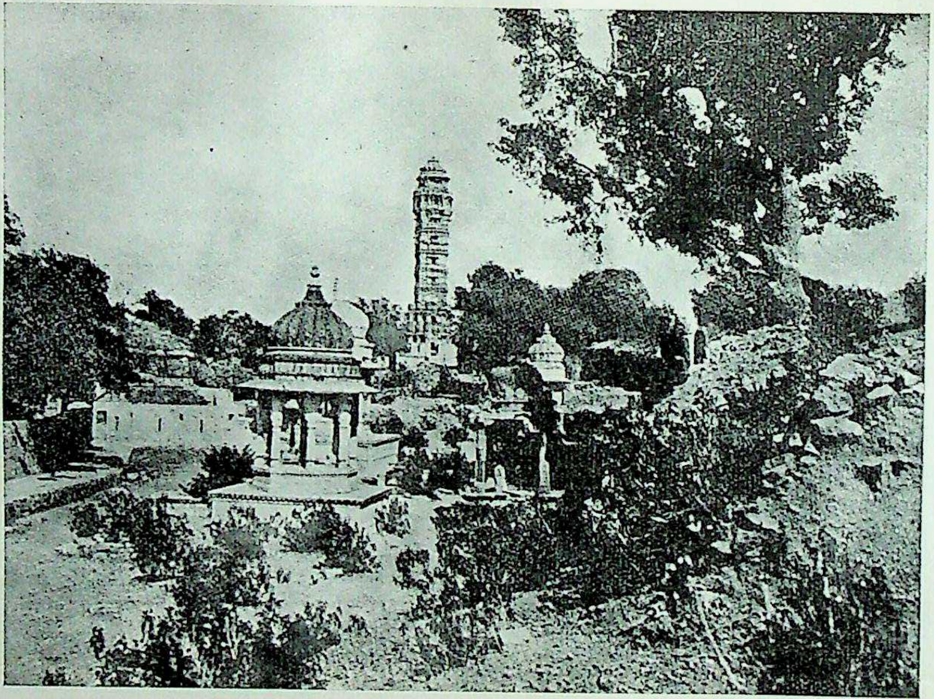
[64] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 405. Vir Vinod, Vol. II. PP. 80-81.

[65] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. PP. 406-407.



A general view where the Jauhor was committed.

Towards the end of the sack, another terrible misfortune descended upon the fort. A population of 30,000 inside the fort, mostly civilian who had taken little part in the actual struggle, was put to sword[66] by the orders of the emperor in a kind of frenzy of victorious aggressiveness. The tide of the battle followed hither and thither, through every street, lane and temple. The ill-armed inhabitants faced their enemy, but could do nothing against the superior strength of the enemies. The horrors continued till afternoon, scarcely any life remained in the miserable fort. The fort which once glowed with wealth and splendour, was changed to a charnel house with smoke and spinel. The Mughal fury was the fire which consumed them to ashes.

Ruins of demolished temples, towers, hearths and huts of Chitor which remain even to this day have preserved the memory of the horror inflicted on this occasion, though innumerable monuments have sunk into oblivion. But never was there a more monstrous massacre in the blood-stained history of Mewar. How far was Akbar justified in this senseless shedding of blood is for the posterity to decide. The manner in which innocent and illustrious Rajputs were sacrificed at the altar of this inhuman cruelty, excites in our

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Tarikh-i-Alfi, Elliot, Vol. V. P. 174.
MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 38 (a) (b).

Amarkavya records other details, F. 39 (a) but does not make mention of Patta's presentation before Akbar. It simply refers to his death in this last phase of the siege of the fort.

[66] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text,) Vol. II. P. 407.
Nizamuddin : Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), P. 284.
Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 104.

Tarikh-i-Alfi, Elliot, Vol. V. P. 174.

Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 229.

MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 39 (a).

'त्रिंशत् सहस्र प्रमितास्तु योधा दिल्लीपतेः प्रोद्धर युद्ध योधाः'

breasts the most lively sensation of terror and pity. This immense slaughter has left a deep stain on the memory and character of the emperor who scarcely deserves the labour of an apology. The triumph of the Great Mughal was a indeed sullied by this act of disgraceful cruelty, which was grave violation of the laws of humanity and justice.

Akbar occupied the fort on the 25th Feb. 1568 A.D. He remainad in his camp for three days arranging affairs and dictating letters announcing his victory. Chitor was made a Sarkar of the Mughal dominion and put under the charge of Asaf Khan. Then the emperor moved towards his capital on the 28th Feb. 1568 A.D.[67] For some years he made no attempt to bring under his control Udaipur which was now the capital of Mewar and the interior part of the territory that still remained under the Rana.

Thus the memorable clash between the two great people—the Mughals and the Rajputs came to a tragic close in the late autumn, leaving the surface of the fort scattered with the bones of the slain. The only worthy act of Akbar on the occasion was the erection of the statues[68] of Jaimal and Patta at the fort of Agra, a memorable measure of the respect in which he held the daring generals of this famous sack.

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67. Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. PP. 408-409.
Nizamuddin : Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), P. 284.
Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II. P. 105,
Tarikh-i-Alfi, Elliot, Vol. V: P. 174.
Iqbalnama, (P. T.), V. II. P. 230.

68. The earliest reference of the statues of Jaimal and Patta is found in the writings of President Van Don Broecke, writing in 1629 or 1630, where he mentions that they were set up at each side of the gate of the fort of Agra. (Agra Historical and Descriptive, P. 76). Then Bernier (vide Vol. I, Irvine P 392) makes mentions of them in his letter of

Now it remains for us to judge the facts of this eventful fall of the historic fort. That the Rajputs garrison fought under several handicaps, such as the smallness of their number, their crippled resources and undisciplined rank and outclassed weapons is undeniable. The successful encircling of the fort necessarily increased the sufferings of the inhabitants and daily diminished the limited supply of food and other provisions. Jaimal's death told heavily on the morale of the Rajputs who being desperate consumed everything by fire and exposed themselves to heavy attack by opening of the gates. Moreover, the blockade of the fort made it a source of hinderance to their power instead of any help. We cannot be blind to the superior generalship, allied with tripled combination of battery charge, mining operation and erection of Sabats as a contributory element in the victory of the fort by the Mughals.

Whatever may have been the cause of the disaster sustained by the Rajputs and whatever the spirit of exhaustion felt at the occasion by them the sack signalized a sensational step in the Rajput strategy of war. Defence was based not on forts but on valleys and defiles where the protracted and repeated attempts were foiled by a handful of men. It also revealed to the Mughals that the Rajput exhaustion was not so extreme as to make them incapable of another stand against any general national danger. Henceforth it was the defiles of Girwa and not Chitor that were to be the centre of Mughal politics during the succeeding centuries.

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the first July 1663 as set up at entrance of the fortress of Delhi. Mr. Smith seems to be correct in presuming (vide Akbar the Great Mogal, p. 95) that Shah Jahan, when building New Delhi, removed the statues of Jaimal and Patta from Agra.

## CHAPTER V.

# PRATAP[1] AND AKBAR; IMPERIALISM VERSUS LOVE OF LOCAL FREEDOM.

### (1572—1597 A. D.)

Akbar, it is true, had succeeded in bringing Chitor under his sway and reducing the fort to a sorry plight; the country in and around it certainly lay devastated and uncultivated, towns were either burnt or abandoned, and trade was brought to standstill. But all these did not produce much repercussion on the prosperity of inner Mewar and prestige of the Guhilot dynasty. The age had dawned in which Mewar was to witness not a diminution but a pronounced increase of royal power and prestige of Rana's name beyond the boundaries of Mewar. Uda's son, Pratap, commonly styled by Muslim writers[2] 'Kika'[3] whose personal appearance, early training and force of character amply attested and fulfilled the glory he was going to win,

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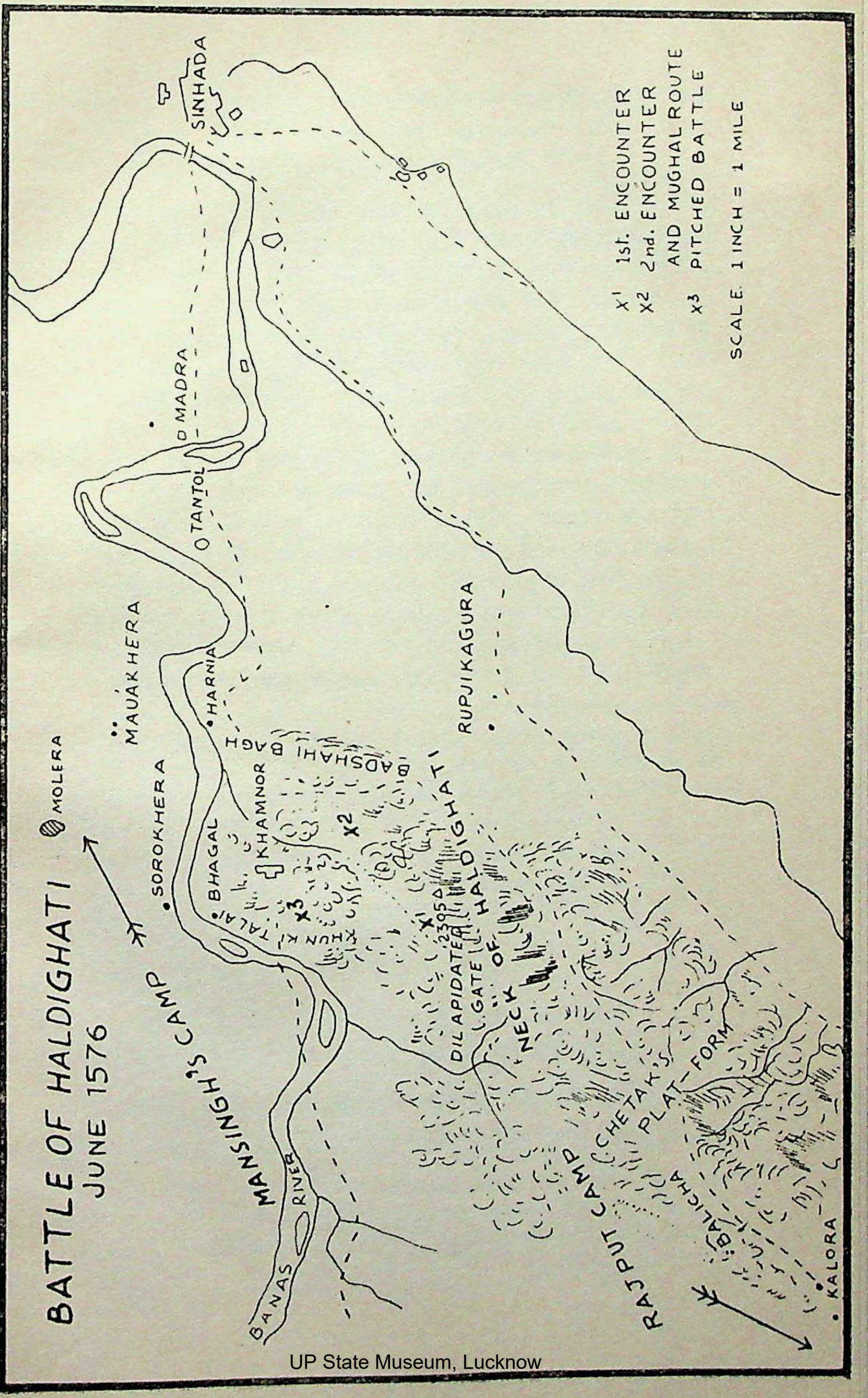
[1] It is a Sanskrit word meaning—glory. He was born on the 3rd of Jaistha of V. S. 1597 (9th May, 1540 A. D.) and ruled Mewar from the 28th Feb., 1572 to 19th Jan., 1597 A. D.

[2] Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 44 etc. Nizamuddin Ahmad: Tabaqat, (Persian Text), p. 333 etc. Badaoni: Muntakhab, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p. 230 etc. Iqbalnama, (P. T.), Vol. II. p. 272.

[3] Kika seems to be a pet-name of the Rana given by the Bhils in whose associations his early days were spent. The Bhils of south-western Mewar usually speak Gujarati and in Gujarati and Bhil dialect Kika stands for a son.


BATTLE OF HALDIGHATI
JUNE 1576
MOLERA
SOROKHERA
MAUAKHERA
MANSINGH'S CAMP
BANAS RIVER
KHUN KI TALAI
BHAGAL
KHAMNOR
HARNIA
BADSHAHI BAGH
TANTOL
MADRA
SINHADA
RUPJIKAGURA
DILAPIDATED GATE OF HALDIGHATI
2395
NECK
CHETAK'S PLAT-FORM
RAJPUT CAMP
BALICHA
KALORA
X1
X2
X3
X1 1st. ENCOUNTER
X2 2nd. ENCOUNTER AND MUGHAL ROUTE
X3 PITCHED BATTLE
SCALE 1 INCH = 1 MILE

gave shelter to the princes of Gwalior[4] and Sirohi[5] and made alliances with them and inspired them with hostility to the growing power of Akbar.

As we think of Pratap what a world of visions and memories rise before the mind. He was a great captain of war, tall, almost full and majestic figure, with a high forehead, prominent mustaches and above all striking appearance with bright eyes which seemed to indicate great fire and determination within.[6] Like his person his clothes in which it has been the delight of painters to portray him are also familiar. His closely tied turban and a long coat of yellow colour with a scarf closely tied around his waist were familiar objects to his contemporaries.[7] His character had been formed quite early in life during his wanderings in the midst of hills and forests. Adversity had taught him patience, perseverance, courage and determination. He had imbibed eternal love for his country and resolved to consider no sacrifice as too great for its defence.

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[4] Gwalior was already under Mughal order when in Aug. 1567 the Raja of Gwalior had left his territory to be occupied by Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan, Akbar's general; (Vide the Cambridge History, Vol. IV. p. 97.)

[5] Rising in Sirohi was subdued and rebels were punished by Akbar in 1572 A. D. on account of Khan Kalan's murder. This probably made the Rao of Sirohi to seek shelter in Pratap's territory. (C. H. I. P. Vol. IV. p. 104.)

[6] Amarsar, Canto I. VV. 60-61, F. 6(a).

हस्त्यै श्व मर्त्येंदु सुशंख चक्र प्रवाल मुक्ता मणि मुख्य चिन्हैः ।
स्वेसत्व मालोक्य तनौर्य दीये ऐश्वर्ये मुख्यैः श्रियते गुणौघैः ॥६०॥

विशाल मुखद्वर भालमस्य प्रताप लक्ष्मैयक निवास भूमिं
निरीक्ष्य मिथ्या भिमतोद्धतत्वं त्यजंति चान्येषु भुवि पार्थिवौघाः ॥६१॥

[7] The Jotdan the private picture gallery of the Rana of Udaipur possesses a sufficiently old picture from which the description of Rana's attire has been borrowed. The picture may not be a contemporary one but it at least reflects the popular opinion of the Rana's dress,

In short, Pratap's early environments in which he had spent his boyhood had given him a character and philosophy of life which distinguished him from other Rajput princes of his times.

Moreover, his travels and trials in the remotest part of his dominion proved a boon in securing the confidence and alliance of the wild tribes of Mewar by his chance associations with them. The Bhils became his devoted friends and followers. Their martial qualities and their fidelity to their word, their habit of climbing the hills and jumping on the thorny bushes with ease and bearing all kinds of privation must have produced an unfailing impression upon the prince's mind. This association proved later the decisive factor in his struggle against the superior foe.

On his father's death on the 28th Feb., 1572 A. D. Pratap's claim to the throne of Mewar was contested by his younger brother Jagmal. Sakti Singh who was the 2nd son of Udai Singh was out of question as during the life-time of his father he had left[8] Chitor angrily and accepted a subsistence allowance from Akbar. After Udai Singh's death Jagmal, the son of his father's favourite wife Rani Bhattyani had organised a party of his own and plotted to seize the throne. But some of the nobles headed by Akhai Raj of Jhalor and Ram Prasad of Gwalior openly supported Pratap's claim and nipped the plot[9] against him. In the end

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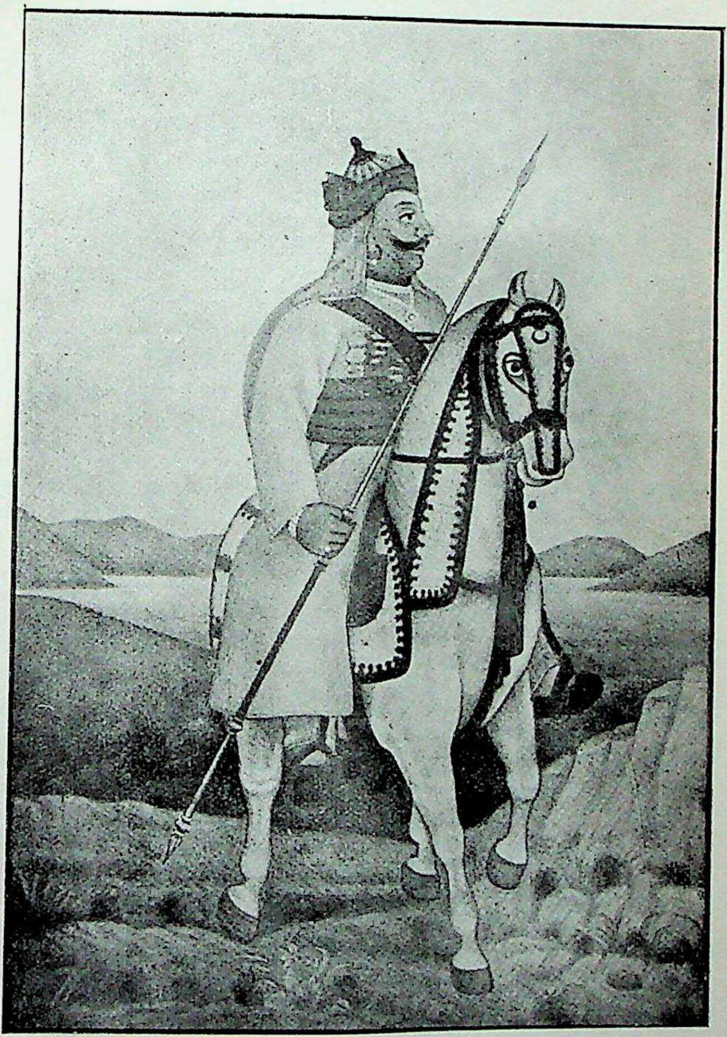
[8] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p. 380. Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, (Persian Text), N. Press Vol. II. p. 225. MS. Sisod Vanshavali, F. 24 (b).

[9] Jagmal was actually enthroned secretly by Kishan Das of Salumber and Sanga of Deogarh. When Akhai Raj of Jhalor, who was the Rana's maternal grandfather and Ram Singh of Gwalior who was living in Mewar did not find Jagmal at the cremation ceremony of Rana Udai Singh, they straightway put the question of his absence to Kishan Das and Sanga. However after hot discussion it was decided that the 'Gadi' should go to Pratap. As the party return-



Rana Pratap

he was installed on throne of Mewar at Gogunda as Rana on the 28th Feb., 1572 A. D. Jagmal left Mewar and with the help of the governor of Ajmer obtained from Akbar Jahazpur as a Jagir. Later on in 1581 A. D. he got the share of Sirohi state by the imperial orders. Ultimately he was removed by death in 1583 A. D. when a conflict arose between him and Rao Surtan, the nominee of his father-in-law Rao Mansingh.[10]

But the 'Gadi' that he had acquired and the territory that he inherited was not a bed of roses for the Rana. Several years of war had broken up the roads, disorganised social life and jeopardised trade and thrown all progress[11] out of gear. Chitor was already in the Mughal hands and attempts were being made to introduce order by means of measuring land, assessing revenue and dividing the Mughal possession into districts.[12] The frontier districts of Mewar like Badnor, Shahpura and Rayala were under the Mughal control. Muslim influence was increasing in these parts as religious endowments[13] were made by the emperor to the Dargah of Ajmer out of these districts.

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ed from the cremation ground Pratap was enthroned instead of Jagmal. (Vide Vir Vinod Vol. II. p. 146.)

[10] MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vaṭ, F. 103 (b); Vir Vinod, Vol. II. p. 146.

[11] Since the day of the invasion of Chitor by Akbar on 23rd October, 1567 A. D. to the day of Udai Singh's death in 1572 A. D. we do not come across any copper-plate grant of note or the record of the construction of any road or building or any other work of public utility. This period, though very short was sufficient to check all progress, economic or literary.

[12] According to Ain-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), p. 286 (Jarett, II. pp. 109, 278 and 279) in the Sarkar of Chitor there were 26 mahals including Mandalgarh, Mandal, Badnor, Bagor, Shahpura etc. The whole Sarkar measured to 1,679,802 Bighas and 17 Biswas and its revenue was estimated to 30,047,649 'dams'.

[13] Villages like Rayaa, Katdi, Arneta and Kanya of the

Thus Pratap had inherited a precious dominion from his father and implacable enmity of Akbar, the mighty Mughal emperor. He rightly thought that unless he acknowledged Akbar as his suzerain he would have to fight a long and bitter war. Not being prepared to lower the prestige of his house and sink to the position of an humble vassal the only alternative before him was preparation for a deadly struggle.

In grim earnestness he set himself to the task of dealing with the situation in a bold and decisive manner. With boundless self-confidence he launched upon his preparations. He began with energy the transformation of Mewar into the union[14] with the help of nobly born lords and low-born Bhils, the equal pillars of his power. He removed his capital from Gogunda to Kelwara ( Kumbhalgarh )[15] in order to keep the metropolis at a safe distance from the route of Mughals. Then he turned his attention to fusing the old Mewar with the new. He infused courage and enthusiasm into his men and stirred them from their repose to stand shoulder to shoulder for a cause noble to the tradition of the Rajputs. He gathered round him the local tribes to follow him to the field of battle and to defend the common cause of liberty of their nation. Thus with an effort so continuous, supported by so much ability and acumen, he struck a chord that

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'mahals' of Hurda, Shahpura and Badnor were granted on 23rd Ramzan, H. 982 to Dargah of Ajmer by Akbar. (1575 A. D.) (Vide file no. 20/11, Samvat 93 in Commissioner's Office, Udaipur recently discovered by me).

[14] Pratap was the first to recognize the worth of Bhils who were in majority living in the south-western part of Mewar. The state emblem bears testimony to this day to the equal status given to the Bhil where both Pratap and Bhil are standing on either sides of Eklingji, the titular deity of Mewar.

[15] Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II, p. 228; Vir Vinod, Vol. II. p. 146.

immediately echoed through the country.

Meanwhile Akbar was going ahead with the extension and consolidation of his empire. He was a statesman whose fame had grown more impressive with time and whose mind was open and accessible to original ideas and endowed with such gifts of skill, vigilance, caution and courage as were needed for the Government of a community rapidly passing into a new stage of its social growth. The secret of his success was his sympathetic attitude towards the Rajput community on whose subjugation or conciliation rested the social foundation of his empire. The talent and martial character of the class bewitched the emperor so much that he was convinced that a new India could be evolved out of a social and political synthesis sought from the intelligent and active co-operation of the Rajputs and the Mughals.

Besides his ideal of nationalism, the emperor's conscience had been aroused in other directions also. Akbar was throughout his political career a consistent Imperislist. Pratap, on the other hand stood, for the independence of Mewar. A united empire under his (Akbar's) rule was his (Akbar) aim and this necessarily meant the end of independence of individual Rajput states. Against this designed policy Pratap stood for the preservation of individual identity based on deep local attachments and racial memories. By joining the Mughals his state would cease to exist as a sovereign state and he would be a Mughal Jagirdar and his state a sarkar or pargana of the Mughal dominions. This would certainly do greater harm than good to his position. He valued his states more in a small, compact, racially and culturally linked unit preserving the sovereign authority as against humbling himself by sending a representative to the Mughal court, receiving instruction from Delhi and getting confirmation of hereditary rights from the emperor.

Equally revolting was the idea in Pratap's mind to enter into a matrimonial alliance with the Mughal ruling family and send a 'dola' to Akbar's harem. Should it be right on his part to give his daughter and sister to the Mughal house like his fellow Rajputs ? Or, should he resent it ? The answer to these questions he could seek from the traditional glory of his house which had ever stood for the purity of blood and sanctity of racial greatness. He would never be the first man in his house to bring a blot on it. This is why he was prepared to stake his all for maintaining the traditional purity by not offering hands of the Rajput princess of his dynasty to an alien.

On the other hand after the siege and acquisition of Chitor Akbar seems to have deliberately refrained from taking any furher steps for the conquest of the remaining parts of Mewar. There is no record to show that he sent an army to fight against Udai Singh in the hill of 'Girwa' or immediately after his death against his successor, the valiant Pratap. No doubt Akbar was engaged in bringing several other independent rulers under his control, but the main reason why he did not resume operations against Mewar seems to have been his desire to give sufficient time to its ruler to consider whether a policy of friendly alliance with Delhi would not be in his interest. All other chiefs of Rajasthan without exception had meanwhile submitted to the emperor and Pratap alone had kept himself aloof in defiance of the friendly gesture from the emperor. Akbar's desire to settle the Mewar problem by peaceful negotiations is attested by the fact that he had not only refrained from resuming hostilities but had despatched three missions (Jun. —Dec. 1573) to Pratap's court to sound him as to his intentions.

In accordance with his desire Man Singh of Amber while returning from an expedition to Dungarpur and Salumber proceeded to Udaipur and interviewed

Pratap about June, 1573 A. D. in order to persuade him to recognize Akbar as his suzerain and enter into a friendly alliance with him. Pratap welcomed the guest but refused to recognize the emperor as his sovereign or to accompany Man Singh to the imperial court[16]. Two other missions followed during the course of Oct. 1573 A.D. and Dec. 1573 A.D. headed by Raja Bhagwan Das of Amber and Raja Todar Mal, the Dewan of Gujarat respectively. Pratap received both the imperial officers with courtesy and conisderation. But as usual he refused to fall in with other Rajput chiefs and pay homage to Akbar[17].

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[16] Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 14.
Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, (P. T.). Vol. II. p. 262.
Beveridge : Akbarnama, Vol. III. p. 87.

Abul Fazl and Mutamid Khan further add that the Rana put on the royal Khilat but proceeded to make excuses (about going to the court).

The Rajput accounts of this interview have been differently given from the records of Abul Fazl. MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 41 (a) (b), 42 (a) (b). MS. Raj Ratnakar, Canto 7th, F. 34 (b), 35 (a) (b) and MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, F. 103 (a) (b). 104 (a) (b) 105 (a) (b) and 106 (a) give at length the story of this meeting which may be summarized as follows:—

The Rana arranged a feast to be held in honour of Kr. Man Singh on the bank of the Udai Sagar lake. When it was the time for partaking the feast Kunwar Amar Singh represented the Rana. The Kachhwaha Chief asked about the Rana and was informed that he had some indisposition of the stomach. Kr. Man Singh was intelligent to understand the cause of the Rana's absence and left the feast, feeling rather insulted. When he was leaving a further retort was given by the Rana that he should not come all alone but with his 'Phupha' Akbar. After his departure purification of the utensils, dishes and site of the feast was made to wash away the sin of the touch of these objects by one who had given his aunt to the emperor.

This story has no tinge of truth about it. The simple fact of an interview and Rana's objection of going to the court has been coloured by bardic imagination. All these details seem to have been invented at later period. Even Rajprashasti does not give so much of the fabricated facts. In Canto 4th verse 21 of Rajprashasti there is a simple hint that at the time of dinner there was some cause of ill feeling between Man Singh and the Rana.

मानसिंहेन तस्यासी द्वैमनस्यं भुजे दिजों ।

The failure of these three missions must have convinced Akbar that a peaceful solution of Mewar's problem, 'vis-a-vis' the Mughal ruling family and the empire which had by this time the friendly support of almost all Hindu rulers and had embraced practically

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The same version has been recorded in two words by Nensi (vide Nensi's Khyat, Foilo II (a).

'जीमण पगा विरस हुओ'

Perhaps on this simple indication the posterior writers have built up a legendary tale. Jagannath Rai Prashasti, a work earlier than the works referred to above, makes no mention of such a feast. Out so of many Khyats and Vanshavalis only one MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat records this event which is not reliable.

MS. Raj Ratakar, Amarkavya and Raj Prashasti which give the account of the interview in a different manner also make no mention of Udaisagar as a place where the interview is said to have been held. Akbarnama, (P.T. Vol. III. p. 14) and Iqbalnama, (P.T. Vol. II. p. 262) clearly state that the Rana brought Man Singh to his house as his guest. Hence the interview was Rajput like and was held at Gogunda as evidenced by contemporary records.

[17] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. pp. 41-44. Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, (Persian Text), Vol. II. pp. 262; 272.

As regards the second mission sent to Mewar Abul Fazl adds that the Rana sent a petition along with his son Amar Singh begging to be excused from his personal attendance at the Mughal court. This statement seems to be erroneous. For if the Rana had sent his crown prince and a petition of submission with a Mughal officer there seems to be no reason why Akbar should not have accepted it.

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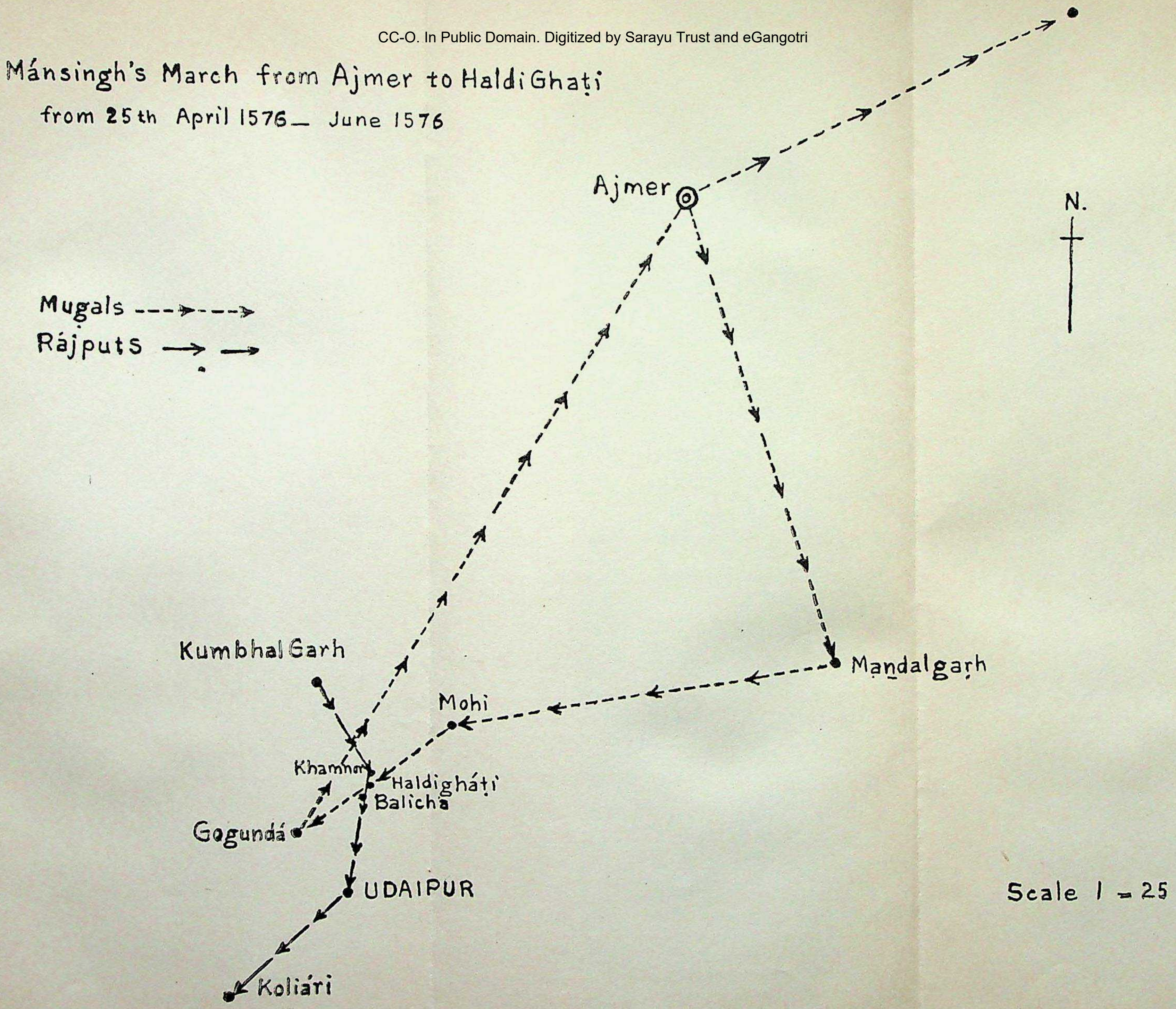
Mánsingh's March from Ajmer to Haldi Ghaṭi
from 25th April 1576 — June 1576


Ajmer
N.
Mugals
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Gogundá
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the whole of northern India except Orissa and Kashmir, was an impossibility, at least as long as that state continued to be ruled by Pratap. Hence he decided on war.

It may be said in favour of Pratap that he was a soldier of liberty and was not prepared to surrender. His ambition on which he had set his heart was to retain his independence intact. He considered no sacrifice in the upholding of this cause as too great for him. He spurned comfort and prepared himself for the worst kind of suffering and even to expose his person and that of his family to danger. He was aware of the consequences of his refusal to abide by Akbar's wishes and, therefore, made whatever preparation was possible to meet the impending danger. Among other measures of defence one was the stationing of three hundered horse at the entrance of Haldi-Ghati for which purpose a grant[18] of the village 'Dhol' in Kumbhalgarh District was granted to a cavalry leader Joshi Puno on the 15th of the bright-half of Kartik V.S. 1631 (29th Oct. 1574 A.D.). Another drastic measure that was adopted by Pratap to meet the impending danger was the devastation[19] of the plains of central Mewar and transferring of its civil population to Kumbhalgarh and Kelwara in order to make the means of communication and the supply of food and fodder to the enemy's army difficult between the newly established Mughal Sarkar in Mewar and the inner Girwa. In the meantime he must have summoned to duty all the trusted nobles and daring Bhils to avert the coming catastrophe of Mewar.

In the meantime, Akbar having freed himself from the arrangements of the Bengal expedition (1574

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18. Dhol-grant, (Copper -plate inscription), No. 214, recently discovered by me in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur.

19. MS. Suryavansh, F. 19 (a); MS, Vanshavali Ranajini, F. 68 (a).

A.D.)[20] and the quelling of the troubles of Chandersen of Jodhpur (1575)[21] went to Ajmer on 18th of March, 1576 and began deliberating on the plan of action to be taken against the Rana.[22] At last the emperor entrusted the charge of proceeding against Pratap to Kunwar Man Singh.[23] Accordingly on the 3rd April, 1576 A.D. the Kunwar left Ajmer being accompanied by capable warriors like Asaf Khan Mehtar Khan, Sayyid Ahmad, Sayyid Hashim Berha, Raja

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[20] The Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV p. 112.

[21] Badaoni: Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p. 228.

Nizamuddin : Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), p. 332.

[22] Abul Fazal : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 146.

„ „ (M.S.), 93 (a).

Nizamuddin : Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), p. 333.

MS. Muhanot Nensi's Khyat, Folio, 11 (b).

MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, Folio 107 (a).

[23] The reasons for Man Singh's selection as a commander of imperial army have been given by Abul Fazal (Vide Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 146 as follows :—

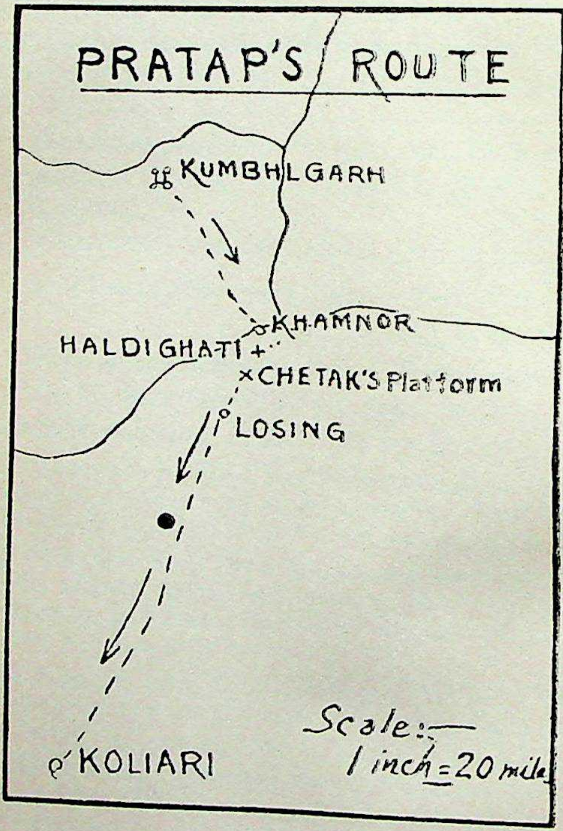
Kr. Man Singh who was among the first in the court for wisdom, loyalty and bravery, and who, among other favours, had been granted the lofty title of Farzand (son), was nominated for service.

Nizammuddin (Vide Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Persian Text, p. 332) also gives the same reasons as follows :—

"Man Singh was distinguished with the attributes of courage and manliness, and the qualities of high spirits and wisdom."

However, some of the Mohammedan officers in the army resented the appointment of Man Singh as the General-in-command, because he was Hindu (Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Persian Text Vol. II. p. 228).

Iqbalnama, (Persian Text, Vol. II. p. 303) states, that Man Singh was selected as he belonged to Rana's class 'Tabei ain Khiraj gujara' and the former's forefathers had been in the service of the Ranas and as such out of shame he may come to open conflict,


PRATAP'S ROUTE
KUMBHLGARH
KHAMNOR
HALDIGHATI
CHETAK'S Platform
LOSING
KOLIARI
Scale:—
1 inch = 20 miles

Jagan Nath Kachhwaha (Man Singh's uncle), Rai Lon Karan and others.[24] The imperial army arrived at Mandalgarh[25] by regular marches. For some days the Rajput Commander of the Mughal force had to wait there for the additional contingent[26] that had to join him and probably to establish a line of communication through the devastated territory of the Rana and the imperial out-posts. In staying at Mandalgarh for about two months (from about middle of April to the middle of June) Man Singh might have been giving time to the Rajputs to grow impatient and open an offensive with the Mughals there which might prove advantageous to the imperial interest.

But the Rana who was determined to meet the imperial forces in the heart of the defiles of 'Girwa' moved from Kumbhalgarh and encamped at Lohsingh[27] a small village eight miles west of the neck of Haldi Ghati, the Thermopylae of Mewar where the Kumbhalgarh range has contracted itself into a pass.

Man Singh on his part left Mandalgarh and probably taking the usual route through the plain arrived

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The alleged appointment of Salim (Tod, Vol. I. p. 393) as the general of Mewar's army is baseless. In the first place he was only six years of age at that time and secondly neither Rajput nor Muslim sources mention Salim's appointment as a General of the Mughal army. (Ojha : U. R. I. Vol. I. p. 429).

[24] Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II. pp. 230-231: Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (MS.) F. 98 (a); Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III p. 146; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), p. 332.

[25] Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p. 230.

Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), p. 332.

Mandalgarh is about seventy miles from Ajmer.

[26] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (MS.)F. 98 (b); and (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 151.

[27] MS. Nensi's Khayat, Folio 11 (b).

near Khamnor and encamped in the town of Molela,[28] on the other bank of the river Banas which runs down from the western mountains to the Chambal. Thus between the two hostile camps there was a distance of about 10 miles.

The position chosen by the Rana as against that of Man Singh was a strategical one and as such had a great advantage over his enemy. The spot where the Rana's forces were stationed were so guarded that it could be reached only by one man after another traversing a narrow and rugged path of about a mile and a half. A horse could with difficulty be led up; two men could hardly walk abreast and, in some places the way ran so close to the precipice that the traveller had great need of steady eye and foot. Moreover, the whole valley was so enclosed by the ramparts of nature that the assailing troops could not find any way out of it when they had once entered it. Only a few bow-men guarding the neck of the Ghati could check the rush of hundreds of men. A small body of firm warriors could successfully defend it against a large body of soldiers. In case of any disastrous undertaking, the native militia could hide in the neighbouring mountains and forests where pursuit was not free from danger or loss of way or loss of life for enemies who were foreigners in the land and who were accustomed to fight in open fields. The local recruits could withstand the enemy for a long period keeping themselves on forest growth while the assailing army would starve to death if the provision ran short.

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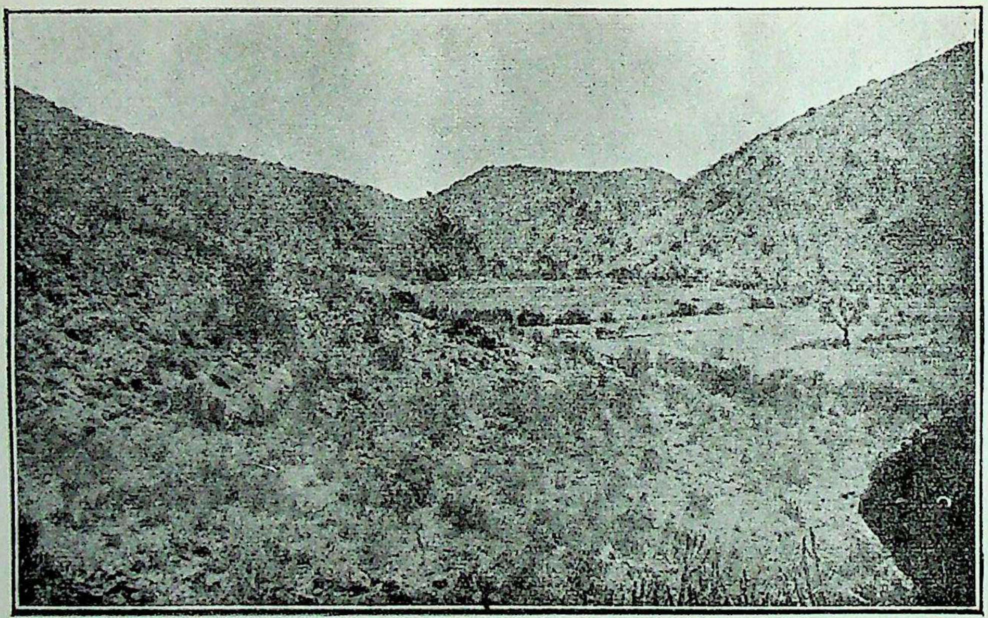
[28] MS. Nensi's Khayat, Folio 11 (b).

Professor Sri Ram (Pratap, p. 68) is not correct in writing this village as Majera. My MS. has clearly given Molela. The published text (Vide Nensi's Khyat Nagari Pracharini, p. 68) also gives Molela. There is no village Mojera in the vicinity of Khamnor while Molela is a village on the banks of Banas just two miles from Khamnor.



Haldighati, "the Thermopylae" of Mewar

When the Rana was informed by his scouts[29] namely Duras Purbia and Neta Sisodia that the enemies had encamped near the bank of the Banas he too arrayed his army just beyond the neck of the pass. He had an army consisting of 3,000 horse,[30] 2,000 foot-men,[31] one hundred elephants[32] and one hundred pick-men, drummers and trumpeters.[33] He divided his force into the traditional order[34] of Harawal (van), Chandawal (rear), Vam Parshwa (left-wing), and Dakshin Parshwa (right-wing) with some alteration suiting the local condition of the place. His van[35] was led by Hakim Sur Pathan, who had with him Chundawat Kishan Das of Salumber, Bhim Singh of Sardargarh, Rawat Sanga of Deogarh and Rathor Ram Das of Badnor, son of Jaimal, all chosen chiefs of Mewar. Raja Ram Shah, the ex-ruler of Gwalior was in the right[36] with his three sons and other selected men. Man Singh Jhala was in the command of left wing[37] and was assisted by Jhala Bida of Badi-Sadri and Man Singh Sonagra, son of Akhai Raj of Jhalor. The rear[38] was headed by Rana Punja of Panarwa and followed by Purohit Gopinath, Jagannath, Mehta Ratan Chand, Mahasani Jagan Nath and Keshao and Jaisa, Charans of Soniyana. Rana Pratap himself occupied the centre[39] of the Ghati, followed by Bhama Shah his minister and Tara Chand the brother of the latter. The Bhil foot-men who acknowledge the commission of Rana Punja took their position on the hills and hillocks of the Ghati with their short swords, arrows and bows and number of stones to be hurled or thrown over the enemies[40]. It was an army full of patriotic ardour and animated by a personal devotion to its warlike young Rana.

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[29] MS. Nensi's Khayat, Folio 11 (b).

[30] Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. I. p. 231.

[31] MS. Suryavansh, Folio. 54 (a).

[32] MS. Vanshawali Ranajini, Folio 67 (a).

[33] MS. Vanshavali Ranajini, Folio 67 (a).

[34] Badaoni in Muntakhab, (Persian Text,) Vol.II. p. 231 gives two divisions of the Rana's force which is not correct. Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, Vol. II. p. 305 (Persian Text), is right to record that the Rana was not in favour of arranging his forces in battle array, but he did it on the advice of his followers. Of course, the forces were arranged as they could be arranged in the narrow spaces of the Ghati. Abul Fazl in his Akbarnama, (MS.) F. 99 (a) and Persian Text, Vol. III. p. 152 gives rightly the divisions of various arrangements, which correspond more or less with the traditional divisions of the Rajputs and which befit the local condition of Haldighati. Drawing forces on regular order was not possible in the narrow space of the Ghati.

[35] Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p. 231; Mutakhab, (Eng. Tr.) Vol. II. p. 236. Vir Vinod, II. p. 151.

[36] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (MS.) F. 99 (a); Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 152.

Man Singh who had encamped in the village of Molela took some time in fixing tents and collecting provision for the imperial army.[41] Then on the 21st of June 1576 he moved with 4,000 men to a suitable ground for arranging his troops in battle order at no other place than a plain[42], now called Badshah Bag[43] just

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[37] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 152.

[38] Vir Vinod, Vol. II. p. 151.

[39] MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, Folio, 43 (b).

'गिरिस्थ हारिद्रक घट्ट मध्ये प्रतापसिंहः सततः प्रविष्टः'

[40] MS. Raj Ratnakar, Canto 7, V. 21 Folio 35 (a).

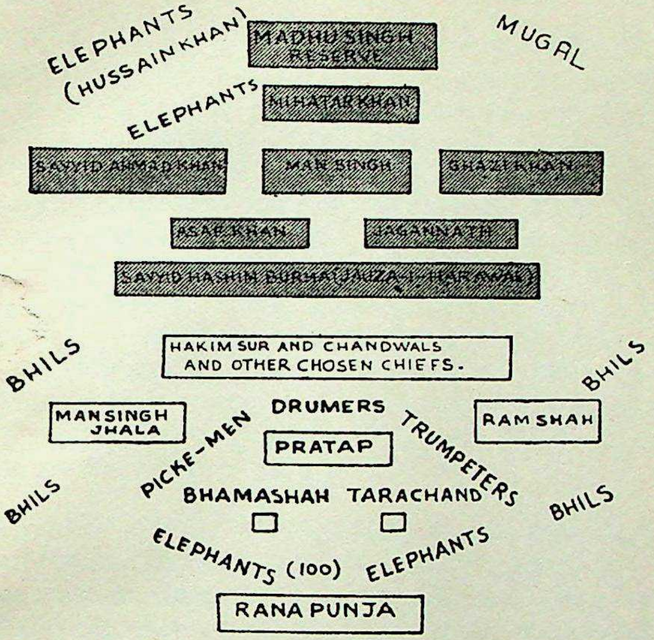
कालांजना जलनिभा अथसन्नियुक्ता
सप्तायुतं समितिराण पुरंदरेण
भिल्ला महांबुद् घटा रव तीव्र वेगा
भल्लान् ववपुर्ररि सैन्य मही तलेषु ॥२१॥

[41] Nizamuddin : Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), p. 333.
MS. Raj Ratnakar, Canto 7. V. 16 F. 35 (a).

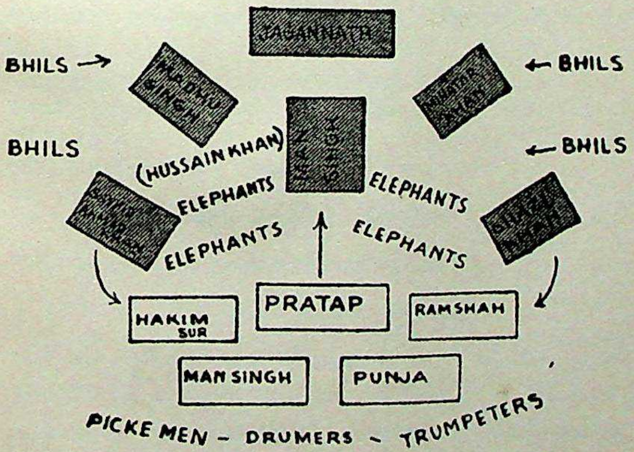
[42] Nizamuddin : Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), p. 333 says, '......advanced to the plain.'

[43] Tradition still preserves this name.

## POSITION I
## (BADSHAHI BAGH)


ELEPHANTS
(HUSSAIN KHAN)
MADHU SINGH RESERVE
MUGAL
ELEPHANTS
MIHATAR KHAN
SAYYID AHMAD KHAN
MAN SINGH
GHAZI KHAN
ASAF KHAN
JAGANNATH
SAYYID HASHIM BURHA (JAUZA-I-HARAWAL)
HAKIM SUR AND CHANDWALS AND OTHER CHOSEN CHIEFS.
BHILS
BHILS
MANSINGH JHALA
DRUMERS
RAMSHAH
PICKE-MEN
PRATAP
TRUMPETERS
BHILS
BHAMASHAH
TARACHAND
BHILS
ELEPHANTS
(100)
ELEPHANTS
RANA PUNJA

## POSITION II
## (KHUN KI TALAI OR RAKTA TAL)


JAGANNATH
BHILS
MADHU SINGH
MIHATAR KHAN
BHILS
BHILS
MAN SINGH
BHILS
(HUSSAIN KHAN)
ELEPHANTS
ELEPHANTS
SAYYID AHMAD KHAN
GHAZI KHAN
ELEPHANTS
ELEPHANTS
HAKIM SUR
PRATAP
RAMSHAH
MAN SINGH
PUNJA
PICKE MEN - DRUMERS - TRUMPETERS

☐ RANA'S PARTY

■ MAN SINGH'S PARTY

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below the Ghati with Khamnor and village Bhagal on both its sides. A chosen party of eighty renowned youths led by Sayyid Hashim Barha, and which was called 'Jauza-i-Harawal'[44] (chickens of the front line (Lowe) ) was set apart to meet the first attack of the Rajputs. Then followed the Van under Raja Jagannath who was helped by Asaf Khan. The right was commanded by Sayyid Ahmad Khan. The left was by Ghazi Khan Badakhshi and Lon Karan ha. Madho Singh led the reserved party and Mihtar Khan and others were in the rear. Man Singh took his position in the centre, mounted on an elephant. The historian Badaoni was with some of the special troops of the advance guard.[45]

Thus for a while both the Rajputs and the Mughals waited for an offensive until the lead was taken by the Rajputs whose elephant[46] carrying Mewar's flag came out from the neck of the Ghati to meet the Mughals early in the morning[47] of the 21st June, 1576 A. D.

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[44] Muntakhab, (Lowe), p. 236.

[45] Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p. 231.
Muntakhab, Vol. II. p. 236 (Eng. Tr.).
Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 152. (MS. 99 a).

[46] MS. Raj Ratnakar, Canto 7, V. 17.

'हस्ति ध्वजे प्रचलित ध्वजिनी मुखेच'

MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, Folio 43 (b).

'ततः परंते मिलिने ध्वजिन्यौ'

[47] Badaoni : Muntakhab, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p. 231.
Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 152.
Jagannath Rai Inscription, Verse 41, Epig-Indica, Vol. XXIV.

'कृत्वा करे खड्गलतां स्ववल्लभां प्रतापसिंहे समुपागते पगे'

MS. Raj Ratnakar, Canto 7, V. 17.

He was followed by the Rana's Van headed by Hakim Khan Sur.[48] As it advanced to meet the enemy, blowing of the trumpets, beating of the drums and singing of the songs encouraged the vigour of the warriors.[49] The advancing Rajput Van fell upon the imperial Vanguard. The attack was so impressive and the ground on which the advance party had to fight was so disadvantgeous to them that they were about to sustain a complete defeat.[50]

Being encouraged by this show of strength of arms the Rajputs left their strategical position and descended down to the low plain of the Ghati, now called Badshah Bag, where the enemies were found in their full fledg-

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'प्रातः पुनः ध्वनति चाह् चतुर्य घोषे'

[48] Muntakhab, (Eng. Tr.), Vol. II. p. 236.

[49] MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, Folio, 43 (b).

ततो महा दुद्भि घोर नादैः etc.

[50] Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p. 232.

Nizamuddin : Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), p. 333.

Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 152.

Badaoni further adds (Lowe: II. p. 237), 'At this juncture the author, who was with some of the special troops of the advance body said to Asaf, "How are we now in these circumstances to distinguish between friendly and hostile Rajputs ?" He answered, "On whichever side they may be killed, it will be a gain to Islam." '

Again it was on this occasion as Badaoni (Lowe : II. p. 237) records, that an arrow struck Shaikh Mancur (son-in-law of Shaikh Ibrahim) who was the leader of this company, in the seat of honour as he was in the act of flight, and he bore the wound for a considerable time. But Qazi Khan, although he was but a Mulla, stood his ground manfully, until receiving a similar blow on his right hand, which wounded his thumb, being no longer able to hold his own, he recited (the saying) :—

"Flight from the overwhelming odds is one of the tradition of the Prophet" and followed his men. (in their retreat).

ed organisation. Hakim Khan Sur and Pratap with their followers fell upon the centre and the right of the enemies. Here ensued a bloody battle. Both the parties threw themselves into a hot fight. The battle raged foot to foot and hand to hand. The bloody conflict was maintained on either side, by the personal and obstinate efforts of strength, valour and agility. But in the spur of the event the left side of the Mughals being oppressed by irresistible weight of the hostile multitude was thrown into disorder, and the field was strewn with mangled carcases. In this action Raja Ram Shah who was in the right of the Rajputs showed great valour. Thus the simultaneous efforts of the Rana's Van, centre and right was so effective that both the left and Van of the Mughals including Ghazi Khan, Asaf Khan and Rajputs of Man Singh fled away. Some of them did not draw rein till they had passed ten or twelve miles beyond the river. Up to this stage victory was with the Rajputs who had broken the enemy's ranks and made many to fly for the safety of their life.[51]

It appeared as if the Mughals would lose the day. But the Sayyids of Barha retained their position firmly and kept Rajputs engaged in battle.[52] In the meantime Mihtar Khan who was in the rear rushed to the front with his party and shouted[53] probably the report[54] of the arrival of the emperor. This device succeeded in stopping the flight of the Mughals and once more rallied them again to engage in a furious fight against the Rajputs.[55] This reinforcement and rally really saved the Mughals from a great disaster.

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[51] Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p. 232 ; Nizamuddin : Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), p. 333; Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 152 ; Jagannath Rai Inscription, Verse 41 :

'साखन्डिता मानवती द्विषच्चमू संकोचयन्ती चरणं पराङ्मुखी'

MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 43 (b), 44(a); MS. Raj Ratnakar, Canto 7, VV. 19,20.

[52] Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p. 232.

Niazmuddin : Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), p. 333.

[53] Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II, p. 232.

Once more the Rajputs and the Mughals came face to face at a wider plain of 'Rakta Tal,'* also called 'Khunki Talai', just on the bank of the Banas with Khamnor and village Bhagal on both its sides. Pratap with cool valour of his troops proved invincible as ever. His Rajputs belonging to various houses began to show free play of their weapons strewning the field with carcases and blood.[56] Scattered hordes of sanguinary, grotesque savages pushed from the mountain side and began to make assault upon the Mughal flanks.[57] Tribal blood poured out for the defence of the country.

The Mughals too left no stone unturned to defy the attack of the Rajputs and Bhil arrays. They maintained the bloody conflict by the personal and obstinate efforts of their strength.[58] In this part of the struggle

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[54] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (MS.) Folio 100.

Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 153.

[55] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 153.

*MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 43 (b) accurately points the place as :

'एवं निवृत्त्वं पृतना द्रवंत संख्य संख्ये षमनोर मध्ये
पूर्ण प्रपूर्णं तलस्तु रक्त चर्म नदी सावत्त वर्णनाशा'

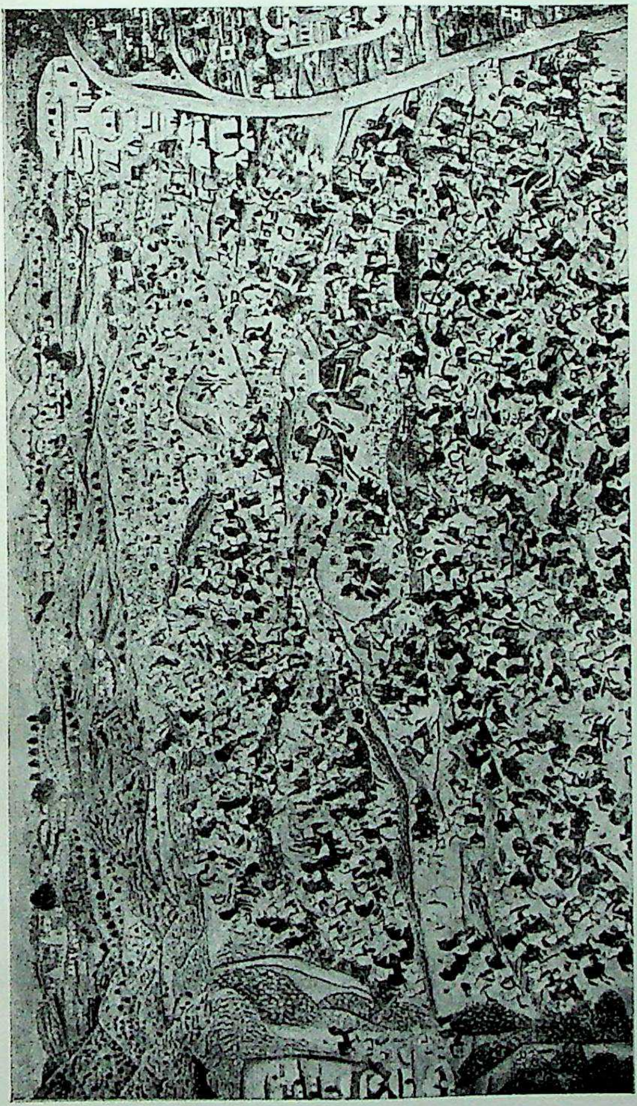
According to Nensi's Khayat, Folio 11(b) the battle was fought on the banks of Banas, which also indicates the plain of 'Rakta Tal'.

'बनास रे ढावे वेठ हुई'

[56] MS. Amarkavya Vanshavli, Folio, 43 (b).

[57] MS. Raj Ratnakar, Canto 7, VV 21-25.

[58] Nizamuddin ; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), p. 333.



Battle of Haldighat
*(Based on an old painting)*

Raja Ram Shah of Gwalior with his three sons and Ram Das Rathor, son of Jaimal died their heroic death.[59]

Then came the turn of Man Singh who showed his great valour by pushing his elephant in front and taking active part in the action.[60] The Rajputs in order to meet the Rajput Commander of the Mughal army faced him with elephants. Husain Khan, the leader of the elephants of the imperial troops also joined in the fight. One of the elephants of the imperial stable attacked the Rana's elephant furiously and during the charge the driver of the Rana's elephant was mortally wounded. His place was taken by the driver of the imperial elephant and he was taken over the Mughal side.[61]

When the elephants were making their own contributions to the day with irresistible charge Pratap brought himself almost within striking distance of Man Singh.[62] Instantly Chetak, his favourite horse, gave a jump to the rider. Pratap finding himself face to face with his enemy hurled a spear at Man Singh which struck the elephant, but the latter in order to parry the blow reclined in the 'Howdah' and made the elephant wheel around for flight.[63] But unfortunately the charger who had done his part was badly hurt in one

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59. Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (MS.) F. 99(b) and Persian Text, Vol. III. p. 153.

60. Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 153.

61. Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p. 233.
Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 153.

62. Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 153, MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, Folio, 44 (b).

63. MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, Folio, 44 (b).
MS. Raj Ratnakar, Canto 7, VV 34-40.

of the fore-legs.[64] This active operation of the Rana invited, so to speak, the attention of the reserved Mughal force[65] on him, which began to pour showers of arrows. He, therefore, with the skill of his arms and strength marched round and carried him away from the peril.[66]

At this stage the later Rajput sources chiefly Raj Prashasti[67] and Amarkavya Vanshavali[68] give the story of the interview of Rana Pratap and his brother Sakta which runs briefly as follows :—

Leaving the actual spot of the battle Pratap turned towards the Ghati and the running hero was hotly pursued by two Mughal officers. Sakti Singh who was fighting with the Mughals followed the two pursuers of Pratap and did them to death. The Rana in the meantime had reached a stream beyond the Ghati. His lame horse 'Chetak' finding it difficult to cross panted and fell dead.* At that instance 'Sakta' came

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"तन्मानसिंह स्य करीन्द्र कुंभे निक्षेप कुंत्तं च
शिवेव श्रुमे (?) पलायनेच्छ प्रबभूव कुंभी"
'तस्मात्पलायत गजो धृत मानसिंह:'

An old painting in Jotdan also supports this view.

64. MS. Phutkar Gita, F. 76 (a) (b).

'दांत चढिया बीच अवसाण जुही
गई ताछै कट पावर तुरंग कटियो'

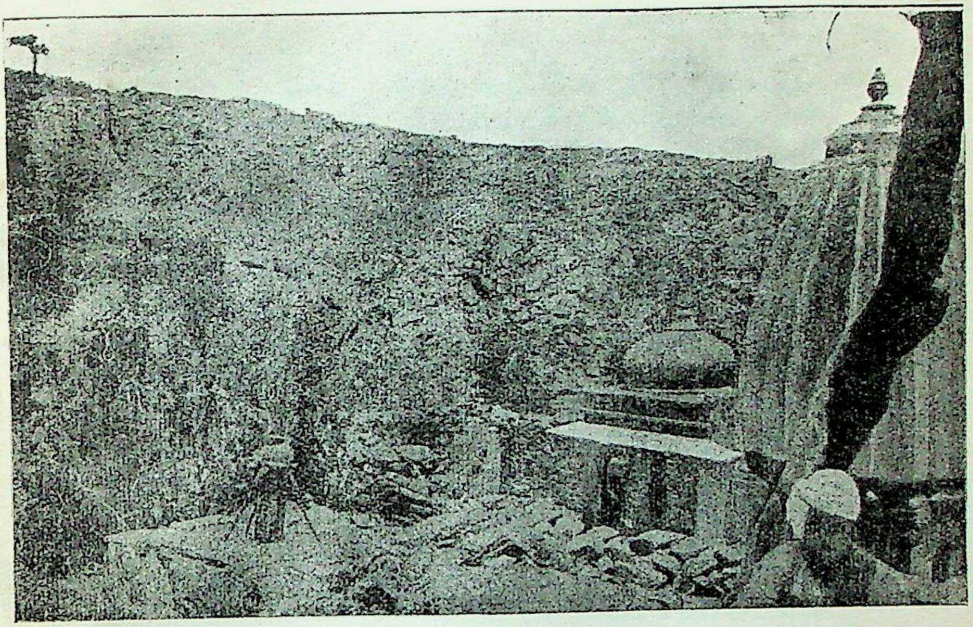
65. Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), p. 233.
Nizamuddin : Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), p. 333.
MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 44(b).

66. Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p. 234.
Nizamuddin : Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), p. 333.
Raj Prashasti ; Canto 4, V. 25.
MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, Folio 44(b).

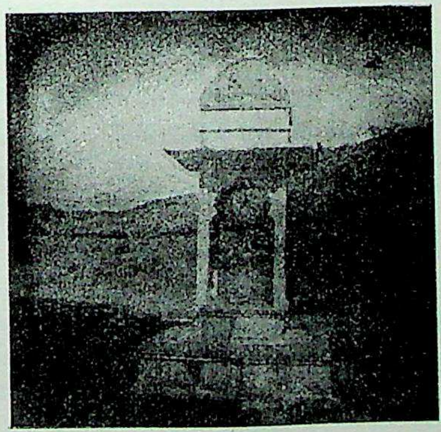
67. Raj Prashasti, Canto 4, VV. 27-30.

68. MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, Folio, 44(b).

*At the place where his horse 'Chetak' fell dead, a platform



Chetak ka Chabutra with 'Shiva Linga' near Balicha in its original condition.



Chetak ki "Chhatri" in its
present condition

to his help begged forgiveness of the Rana and offered his own horse to him. After reconciliation and washing of hearts and doing the needful for the burial of the steed the two brothers departed.

The story as it is current has more a colour of pathos than history. Mr. Ojha[69] also disagrees with the story because according to him it only originates from Raj Prashasti. I also feel inclined to agree with Mr. Ojha for, if the story had been an actuality, Raj Ratnakar, an independent work of the same time, would have not missed mentioning it. But in this work there is no reference to this story. Khyat writers of the same period also do not give any place to this story in their annals. In Jagannath Rai Inscription of Jagat Singh's time or even in Raj Prakh of Raj Singh's time also there is no indication of such an interview. Sakta who came to Chitor during his father's time must have died at the sack of Chitor by Akbar long ago in 1568 A. D. when not a warrior who defended it remained alive. If Sakta had been present in the Mughal army at Haldi-Ghati, Badaoni or other Muslim annalists must have mentioned his name. Under these circumstances we are disposed to reject the story as nothing but a fabrication of later writers.

Rana's sudden retreat caused confusion in the Rajput array.[70] Most of the gallant warriors like Jhala Man Singh, Rathor Shankar Das, Rawat Netsi and others made a stand against the Mughals for some time; but a band of body-guard of Man Singh fought

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was raised which is still called 'Chetak ka Chabutra'. At present at the site of the platform a small 'Chhatri' stands in memory of the burial place of the steed. The two photographs give the original and the new construction at the other end of the Ghati.

[69] Ojha : Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas, Vol. I. p. 440, Footnote No. 5.

[70] Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II, p. 233.

bravely against them which made them retreat.[71] The retreating forces were hotly pursued and many a Rajput met his death.[72] Thus on the very day at noon[73] the regular battle terminated in the Mughal victory.[74] Then the victorious army of Man Singh returned to its camp, though the Bhils did not spare them and conducted black-mail till night and deprived the enemy of their provisions which they had stored.[75]

Our authorities differ in their estimates of the casualties incurred by both the sides. The Mughal offical record[76] used by Abul Fazl and Nizamuddin, gives 150 killed on the imperial side and 500 on that

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Vir Vinod, Vol. II. p. 152.

[71] Badaoni ; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p. 233.

[72] Nizamuddin : Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), p. 333.

[73] Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p. 233.

[74] MS. Akbarnama, F. 100 (a).
Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 153.
Nizamuddin : Tabaqat, (Persian Text), p. 333.
MS. Nensi's Khayat, Folio, 11(b).
The Record of the Rana's victory in Jagannath Rai Prashasti, VV. 41, 42, and MS. Raj Ratnakar, Canto 7, V. 42 is not worth credence.

[75] MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 44(b).
'आस्त सूर्योदयतः प्रभूते सूर्यास्त कालावधि धन्य युद्धे राणेशः'
MS. Raj Ratnakar, Canto 7, V. 41, 42.
'सर्वं कुटिस्थ'मपहाय धनं विहस्ता' 'अरि भवना त्गृहीत वित्तः'
The circumstantial events, the nature of the Bhils and the fatigue of the imperial army make us believe that the Mughals might have undergone this type of difficulty.

[76] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 153.
Nizamuddin : Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), p. 333.

of the Rana. Badaoni[77] who was present on the field gives the total number of casualties as 500 out of which 120 were Muslims. He does not care to give the details of the casualties on each side. Iqbalnama, (Persian Text) Vol. II. P. 306), records the death of 50 men of imperial side and 500 of the Rajput side. The number 50 seems to be the error of the scribe. The number given by Abul Fazl and Nizamuddin may be taken as correct. The Rajput sources[78] give exaggerated number and put the casualties of the imperialist as beyond counting and those of the Rana as 20,000 which is wrong.

Now it remains for us to consider the causes of the Rana's defeat in this battle of Haldighati. The time-honoured practice of war which the Rana followed brought ruin to him. At such a pass it was not necessary to arrange his men in battle array as he did. The best course would have been to post his various divisions at various points in such a manner as to entice the enemy inside the pass and not to allow him to escape without suffering death or destruction. In the second place immediately after the retreat of the Mughal Van-guard it was not right on the part of the Rana to rush to the plain below with full force, which tired out the Rajputs at the first out-set. Thirdly, the accounts of the battle as given in the Rajput and Muslim sources show that the Rana could not maintain order among his troops after his second attack on the Mughals who on the other hand, succeeded in rallying their men and maintaining order. The superior number of the enemy and his bold stand could not but lead to the retreat of the Rana and his followers.

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77. Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p. 234.

78. MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, Folio, 44 (a).

"विखंडितानां यवनेश्वरस्य महाभटानां गणनां विधातुं,
विद्या विनोदी गणेश्वरोपिशक्तोन कोन्यः प्रभवेत्समर्थः ॥"

MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, Folio, 107 (a).

However, it was Pratap's credit that he maintained coolness of mind at that hour of crisis and left the field saving himself from being captured or slain. By his flight he was able to serve the purpose of his land more effectively than he could have done by perishing. As soon as he left the Ghati he went to Koliyari,[79] a hilly town in the west of Gogunda, and engaged himself in arranging for the relief of his wounded warriors.

Though Man Singh was victorious he did not think it wise to imperil his hard won victory by pursuing[80] the Rana. Probably he was in dread of an ambush. The next day he looked over the battle field to see how the Mughal warriors had behaved and left for Gogunda which he acquired after a little opposition on the 23rd June, 1576. In order to defend the imperial camp against a sudden attack by the Rajputs a wall was built round the town, the streets were barricated and a trench was dug.[81] The news of the victory along with the elephant Ram Prasad, as a trophy was despatched to the court through the historian Abdul Qadir Badaoni.[82] It must not be lost sight of that Man Singh was not able to gather much fruit from this victory. While he lived at Gogunda (from 23rd June, 1576 to the end of September 1576) his men could not procure sufficient provision to eat. Their usual ration was substituted by flesh of animals and mangoes. The way connecting

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[79] Vir Vinod, Vol. II. p. 153.

[80] Badaoni: Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p. 233.

[81] Badaoni: Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p. 234.

Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (Persian Text); Vol. III. p. 153.

[82] Badaoni: Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II. pp. 229 and 235.

Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. pp. 153-154. (MS. 100 (a).

Gogunda and imperial line was blockaded.[83] When he was called back to Ajmer by the imperial orders the emperor did not confer on him the honour he expected. Both he and Asaf Khan were forbidden the court for some time.[84]

Having looked after his wounded soldiers Rana Pratap who was not disappointed by the disaster of the battle busied himself in defending his country against further aggression. He returned to Kumbhalgarh and began to take active interest in consolidating the parts which had suffered ruin and devastation in the central part of Mewar. Two copper-plate inscriptions[85] dated the 5th of the bright-half of Bhadrapad, V. S. 1633, (just three months after the battle of Haldi-Ghati) which he issued from Kumbhalgarh granting the villages of Pipli and Sathana in Central Mewar to Balbhadra, establish the fact that he was reviving his authority over the parts which have fallen prey to the aggrandising activity of the enemy and was creating a body of his supporters in that area to check the Mughal influence. He had also stationed his men at various points to cut off the communication between the newly established power of Man Singh and imperial territory and to prevent the supplies from reaching the enemy's camp which was suffering from shortage of provisions. Even the 'Banjaras' were forbidden to the area in order to starve the Mughals.[86]

This was not all. Pratap began making an attempt

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83. Badaoni: Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p. 234.

84. Badaoni: Muntakhub-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p. 235; Nizammuddin: Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), p. 335. Akbarnama, Vol. III. pp. 160—161.

85. No. 26/133, Jagir, 95 of Commissioner's Office, Udaipur which I have discovered recently.

86. Badaoni: Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (P. T.), Vol. II. p. 234, Nizamuddin: Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), p. 335.

to form a coalition of some of the powers of Rajasthan against Akbar's authority. Narain Das of Idar who had submitted to Akbar long ago was persuaded by the Rana to raise the standard of revolt against the imperial authority.[87] The Maharana had also invited Rao Surtan of Sirohi to join hand with him in the struggle he was going to launch against the Mughals. Taj Khan of Jhalor it seems was also in league with Prătap. The trouble in Nadol by Chandra Sen had, it seemed, some sort of connection with the Rana.[88] Pratap re-established his power in Gogunda as soon as Man Singh had left the place and expelled the Mughal garrison from there.[89]

This kind of alliance of Udaipur, Idar, Jhalor and Sirohi was a serious thing. Akbar, therefore, first of all tried to chastise the Rana's confederates so as to break up the combination. Sayyid Hashim and Rai Singh were sent against Taj Khan of Jhalor and Rai Surtan of Sirohi. They were successful in reducing them to obedience.[90] They also took Nadol and induced the rebels to surrender to the royal command.[91] Similarly by 19th Oct. 1576 A. D. Asaf Khan, Qutb-Uddin, Ali Naqib Khan and others were able to re-establish the royal authority over Narain Das of Idar.[92] These measures crippled the resources of the Rana and closed the roads of ingress and egress from the Rana's country.[93]

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[87] MS. Akbarnama, F. 110 (b).
Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 164.

[88] MS. Akbarnama, F. 110 (b).
Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 164.

[89] Vir Vinod, Vol. II. p. 155.

[90] Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (Perian Text), Vol. III. p. 164.

[91] Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 164.

[92] Badaoni: Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (P. T.), Vol. II. p. 241,
Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 164.
Nizamuddin: Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), p. 335.

When the imperial commanders were establishing order in the rebel areas Akbar in order to personally supervise the reduction of the Rana's power personally left Ajmer for Gogunda on October, 11, 1576 A. D.[94] For avoiding sudden Rajput assault precautions were taken by sending advance party every day before the imperial march. Thus the emperor reached Gogunda, re-occupied it and made it royal headquarters for some time.[95] Raja Bhagwan Das and Kunwar Man Singh and Kutbuddin Khan were sent off in order to find out the whereabout of the Rana.[96] But when they had failed in their attempts they were put in charge of Gogunda, the Mughal outpost.[97] Similarly at Pindwara and Haldighati royal armies[98] were stationed to guard the route to Gujarat and to block the ways of escape for the Rana.

Then the emperor moved further in the north-easterly direction and put Majahad Beg, Ghazi Khan Badakhshi, Sarif Khan Atka etc., with 3,000 horsemen at Mohi[99] (near Nathdwara). From Mohi the imperial standard marched further north-east to Madaria[100] and stationed Abdur Rahman as an outposter with 500 troops. Then the emperor turned back to Udaipur about November, 1576 A. D. where he stayed for some time. After appointing Fakhruddin and Jagannath to take charge of Udaipur and Sayyid Abdullah Khan and Raja Bhagwan Das at the entrance of the defiles of Udaipur emperor left for Malwa through Banswara and Dungarpur about the end of the year 1576 A. D.[101] During the course of his march for about two months Akbar tried to occupy places from north-east corner of western mountain chain to the south-eastern point up to Udaipur so that the Rana may be shut up within the hilly tract and may naturally surrender to him.

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[93] Abul Fazl: Akbarnma, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 164.

[94] Badaoni: Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p. 240.
Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 164.

[95] Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 165.
MS. Akbarnama, 111 (b).

[96] Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 165.

[97] Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (P. T.), Vol. III. p. 165.
Badaoni: Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (P. T.), Vol. II. p. 235.
Nizamuddin: Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), p. 336.

[98] Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 166.

[99] Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 166.
Nizamuddin: Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), p. 336.
Badaoni writes Mohani (Muntakhab) P. T., V. II. p. 241.

But this kind of encircling movement failed to capture the Rana who remained unsubdued. His activities were as usual directed towards rendering the Mughal highway to Gujarat through his country unsafe. He did not stop from creating troubles and continued intrigues[102] with Idar and Sirohi. With the help of his faithful followers the Bhils, he remained untraceable,[103]

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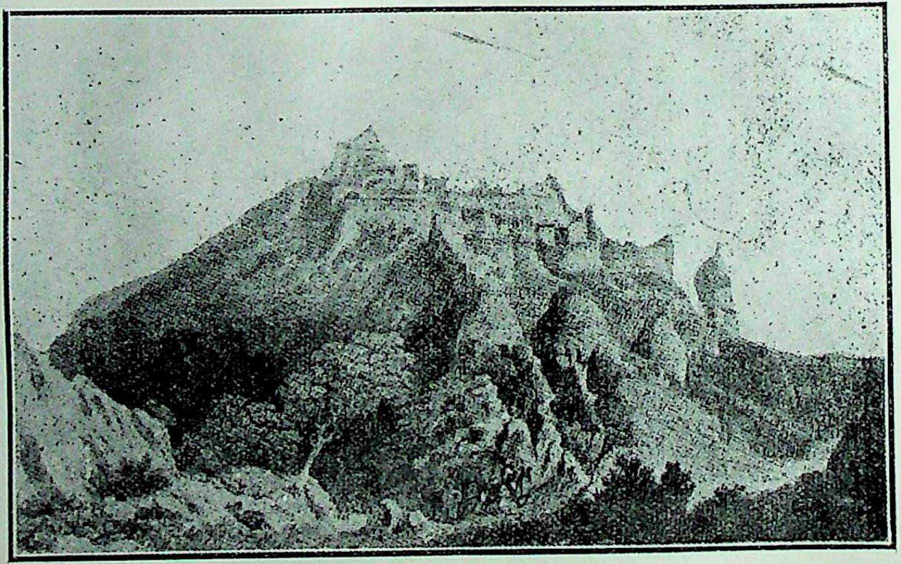
[100] Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (P.T.), Vol. II. p. 241.
Nizamuddin : Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), p. 336.
MS. Akbarnama, 114 (a).
Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 166.

[101] Badaoni : Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p. 242.
MS. Akbarnama, 114 (b).
Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 169.
Nizamuddin : Tabaqat-i- Akbari, (Persian Text), p. 336.
Iqbalnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p. 312.
Raj Prashasti, Canto 4, V. 32.
MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, Folio, 45 (a).

[102] MS. Akbarnama, F. 114 (b).
Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 169.

[103] Abul Fazl; Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III, p. 169.



The fort of Kumbhal Garh

and little later imperial outpost of Gogunda also fell in his hand. The emperor hearing of the bold activities[104] of the Rana sent Raja Bhagwan Das, Man Singh (who had come back to the emperor), Mir Bahar and others to re-occupy the lost parts of the Rana's country. When the imperial army came the Rana crept away into his hilly resorts and again these outposts fell in the hands of the Mughal officers on or about the month of July, 1577 A. D.[105]

As soon as Bhagwan Das turned his back the Rana resumed his activity of raiding the Mughal Commanders who were left behind. In order to suppress him a strong expedition was fitted out under the leadership of Shahbaz Khan who was followed by many able officers like Sayyid Kasim, Sayyid Raju, Sayyid Hashim, Sharif Khan, all well known officers of the Mughal forces. They left for Mewar on October, 15th 1577 A.D. Under the new commander the vital point of the military operations that ensued was the strong fort of Kumbhalgarh,[106] a highly defencible position situated and perched upon a high, steep mountain, the summit of which was encircled by powerful ramparts enclosing the whole fort. It was an impregnable fortress on the western borders amidst an enchanting landscape. Shahbaz Khan at first took possession of Kelwara, a town just three miles from the fort at the foot of the moun-

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MS. Akbarnama, 115 (a) (b).

[104] Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. pp. 169-170.

[105] Abul Fazl gives no date and hence the date has been deduced from the fact that Akbar returned back to Agra by the middle of May, 1577. It is only after this that the Mughal officers were sent. Going and occupying must have taken 2½ months' time which approximately comes to July, 1577 A.D.

[106] The translator of Tabaqat, Vol. II, in his Footnote No. 4 p. 343 has wrongly called the fort as Kamalmir, the lake of lotuses. But in fact it is called Kumbhalgarh as it was a fort built by Kumbha.

tains. Four times the Mughals sent their forces and four times they were repulsed. But at last feeling that the supply of food had run short Pratap left[107] the fort at midnight after assigning its command to Bhan. The Mughals ultimately got possession of the fort after a tough fight on April, 3rd 1578 A. D. To his utter disappointment Shahbaz Khan found that 'the bird had flown' and there was no life over which any physical conquest could be claimed. However, the Mughal commander established Mughal garrisons in fifty strategic places in Mewar and devastated a large tract of land during the course of his stay here for about three months.[108]

This action of quitting the fort was in complete accord with Pratap's whole military career, for, hero, as he was, he was not blind to reality and needs of generalship. The abandonment of the fort and the sacrifice of the defences were losses not to be weighed against the humiliation of general retirement of chances of a disaster in the fort. Pratap's aim was to defeat his enemies in detail.

The Rana escaped to Dholan[109] on the western skirts of Mewar and lived in that vicinity for some time. His minister Bhama Shah and his brother Tarachand who had gone with an army towards Malwa returned to the Rana with 20,000 'Mohurs' and relieved much of his financial burden[110]. Pratap then launched an attack on Sultan Khan at Diber near Kumbhalgarh. Amar Singh showed great valour by killing the Mughal commander by a single stroke of his spear and occupied the garrison about November, 1578.[111]

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[107] MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, Folio, 107 (a) (b); Ojha's Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas, Vol. I. p. 447; Vir Vinod Vol. II p. 157. These authorities ascribe the reason of Pratap's quitting the fort to the treachery of Deora chief of Abu who showed to the enemies a secret pass. This does not seem to be an adequate reason of the evacuation of the fort.

MS. Akbarnama, 146 (b).

[108] Abul Fazl: Akbarnama, (P. T.), Vol. III. pp. 204-205.
Badaoni: Muntakhab, (P. T.), Vol. II. p. 266.
Nizamuddin: Tabaqat-i-Akbari, (Persian Text), p. 341.
Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, (P. T.), Vol. II. p. 318.

[109] MS. Amarkavya, F. 46 (a) records Dholan as his head-quarters from 1580-1583 A. D. Dholan is a small village 20 miles S. W. of Kumbhalgarh. It is surrounded by hills and dales of impregnable nature.

In order to punish the Rana for his daring activities the emperor appointed Shahbaz Khan in December, 1578 A.D. The Mughal commander achieved his object by driving away the Rana to his hilly fortress and returned.[112] Again in November, 1579 A.D. he came to Mewar with the object of subduing Pratap. This time he remained in Mewar till about the middle of 1580 A.D. and supervised the Mughal operations against Pratap with the result that the Rana' s influence was cleared from the central region of his territory and he was made to retire to his hilly homes.[113]

Pratap's life during this period of exile has been variously interpreted. He is pictured as one living the life of a wanderer, maintaining his large family on grass, sleeping restless nights on mats and lurking from one valley to other in the company of wild tribes. Many stories have been made current to show the state of destitution of the royal family. The most common is the tale of a cat taking away a loaf of bread from the hands of a crying daughter of Pratap. But such stories suffer from the fact that no record of them is found in any of the Khyats, Raj Prashasti, Amarkavya Vanshavali, Raj Vilas etc., which describe various events of the history of Mewar from the early times down to the reign of Raj Singh. It is very difficult to trace out the source from which Tod[114] picked up such a gossip. The fact that the Rana had no daughter[115] to cry also proves the hollowness of the entire story. Mr. Ojha[116] has also rejected this story on the consideration of the prosperous situation in which the Rana was placed in the mountainous region of Mewar.

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[110] Vir Vinod, Vol. II. pp. 157-159.

[111] MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 45 (a), 46 (b).
Raj Prashasti, Canto 4, VV. 36-45.

[112] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 221.

[113] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 229.

Similarly there is another legend ascribed to this period in the Rana's life, which history dissolves and it is this. Pressed by the imperial overtures he wrote a letter of apology to Akbar asking his forgiveness. The story originates in the oral tradition of Bikaner which Tod[117] accepted and gave a wide currency. There is in Dingal literature the so-called collection of the letters,[118] exchanged between Prithviraj of Bikaner and the Rana, in which the former, who had some reputation as a poet asked the Rana whether there was any truth in the rumours of his submission. The Rana replied similarly saying that all such talk was absurd and that he was not one to bend before a conqueror. The poetic beauty of this correspondence has given it such a celebrity that it has become a legend. Whether the poem gave currency to the Bikaner tradition or the poem merely embodied the tradition is a moot question and perhaps irrelevant, for it is extremely doubtful whether the poems were actually written by the two royal 'literates'. And legends have a way of sacrificing what is historically true to a picturesque detail or a pathetic effect. No contemporary historian, Hindu or Muslim, mentions it; and a letter of apology from Pratap is not the kind of thing that a Muslim historian will overlook.

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[114] Tod : Annals and Antiquities of Rajashtan, Vol. I. p. 398.

[115] In Nensi's list there is no name of any daughter of Pratap. He only gives the name of his fifteen sons. (P. 69.)

[116] Ojha : Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas, Vol. I. pp. 455-457.

[117] Tod : Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I. pp. 398-400.

[118] For original verses see Maharana Yash Prakash, pp. 87-94.

Then on June, 16, 1580 Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan was appointed as the governor of Ajmer and commander in charge of the Mewar campaign. The Khan Khanan leaving his family at Sherpura led an expedition against the Rana. The Maharana withdrew to his hilly head-quarters of Dholan as the Mirza was proceeding further and fruther to capture him. In the meantime Kunwar Amar Singh by his daring efforts invaded Sherpura to divert the attention of the Mughal general. He was also successful in capturing the Mirza's family. But when the Rana heard of the captivity of the ladies, he at once instructed his son to send them with all necessary honour to the Mirza's place.[119]

While the Rana was busy in facing the Mughal commanders who were carrying death and destruction in Mewar every year, the Rathors of Chhappan, the south-western part of Magra District established their power in that area. The Rana in order to subdue them marched against them and by V. S. 1642 (1585 A. D.) fully established his supremacy over them. Luna Chavandiya[120], their leader was defeated and thus

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[119] Raj Prashasti, Canto 4, VV. 32-33.

"अमरेशः खानखाना दाराणां हरणं व्यधात्
सुवासनीवत् संतोष्य प्रेषयामास ताः पुनः"

MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, Folio, 45 (b).

"कुमार स्त्वमरेश नामा म्लेच्छाभिमान क्षय कारि धामा
जग्राह वैँ सेरपुरा ज्जवेन स खानखानस्य कलत्र मापा"

MS. Vanshavali, Folio 73 (a).

'खानखानाजी री बहुआं आदर सुं'

[120] Vir Vinod, Vol, II. p. 158.

Chhappan was cleared of the Rathor's trouble. An inscription[121] of Surkhand, near Sarara, dated the 11th of the bright-half of Jaishta, V. S. 1642 (1585 A. D.) shows that Rana Pratap freed that land from the Rathors and since then Sisodia supremacy was fully established.

During this time the Rana was not only making his position strong by uprooting the Rathors, but he was carrying his expedition against some small[122] states, probably Banswara and Dungarpur. In order to bring the Rana as a captive to Delhi, Raja Jagannath was now sent towards Mewar on 6th December, 1584 A.D. The Rana retreated into hills and the Mughal commander by posting Sayyid Raju at Mandalgarh with some men proceeded further in the interior. Pratap made a surprise attack on Jagannath's army, Raju was called to pursue Pratap, but he failed to do so and then the Rana marched away towards Chitor. The Mughals again followed him in that direction, but to their surprise the Rana escaped. After some time Jagannath left Mewar of course laying it waste and destroying it wherever he went[123].

The year 1585 A. D. seems to be the red year in the chequered career of Pratap. By this time the Mughal danger had passed away. Jagannath's invasion was practically speaking the last important invasion, for after this the emperor had no time to spare for Mewar as he was busy attending the more important question of the north-western frontier and the Punjab province. This respite was well utilized by Pratap who launched an attack on the Mughal garrisons scattered mostly in the north-western and north-eastern and central parts of Mewar. He recovered with the help of his son Kunwar Amar singh thirtysix places[124] from the Mughal outposts of which Udaipur, Mohi, Gogunda, Mandal, Pandwara were the chief. The re-occupation of the major part of Mewar is clear from an inscription[125] recently discovered from the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur, dated the 15th of the bright-half of Kartika, V. S. 1645 (1588 A. D.) which records the grant of land to 'Trivedi' Sadulnath at Pander, just near Jahazpur. From this we conclude that the Rana had occupied the north-eastern part of Mewar by that time and was busy in the reconstruction work of his territory by conferring grants on his trusted followers.

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[121] Its impression is preserved in the Jagir Misal No. 1722/93 of the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur. The same impression was exhibited by me in the 1944 session of I. H. R. C. at Victoria Hall Museum, Udaipur. This inscription is very important as it shows that the Rana withdrew to Chawand only about the year 1585 A. D. after the defeat of the Rathors. Amarkavya Vanshavali, Folio 46 (a) shows that up to 1583 the Rana was living in Dholan near Kumbhalgarh. The fact that all other Mughal invasions were also directed against Kumbhalgarh proves that up to 1583-84 the Rana's whereabouts were suspected in that area. This makes it clear, therefore, that after 1583 A. D. the Rana's attention was diverted towards Chhappan and by 1585 A. D. he was fully the master of that area.

[122] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. P. 442.

[123] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. P. 442.

This period of respite was also utilized by Pratap by establishing his capital in Chavand on or about 1585 A. D. as stated in the Surkhand Inscription. It was a safer place where he could stay and look to the administration of his land. A palace was also constructed and a temple of 'Chanunda' was built during the same period at Chavand.

From the Amarsar, written during the reign of Pratap's son we learn that the Rana had established perfect order in his land to the extent that women and children had no cause to fear anybody. People enjoyed so much of internal security that even the Rana could not punish those who had no fault. He had made provision for the diffusion of education. The land under his sway abounded in milk, fruits, trees and provision of various kinds. This period of peace brought many flourishing towns in existence inhabited by loyal and rich subject.[126]

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[124] MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, Folio 107 (b).
MS. Suryavansh, Folio 54 (b).
MS. Tawarikh Vanshavali Folio, 19 (b).
MS. Vanshavali Ranajini, Folio, 68 (b).
Vir Vinod, Vol. II. pp. 163-164.

[125] Plate No. 368 of the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur.

Pratap was destined to enjoy peace and freedom from foreign aggression for about twelve years (1585-1597 A. D.) However, the wear and tear of fifteen years of almost continuous campaigning had naturally affected his nerves, while the many wounds he had received may have undermined his iron constitution and he fell ill due to an injury sustained by his leg, while striking his bow.[127] The blow was fatal. After some days' illness he died[128] at Chavand on January, 19th 1597 A. D. He was cremated on the bank of a stream near the village of Bandoli,[129] one and a half miles from Chavand.

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126. MS. Amarsar: Pratap Varnan, VV. 60 to 75.

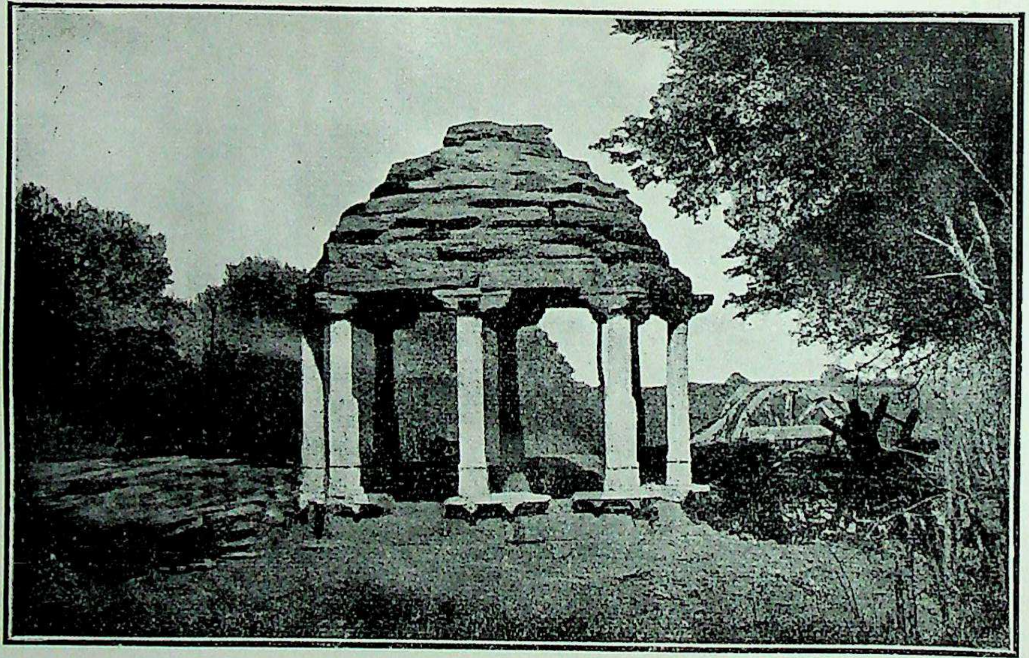
127. Maharana Yash Prakash, p. 139.

Abul Fazl in his Akbarnama, Beveridge, Part III. p. 1069 wrongly ascribes his death to the administration of poison by his son Amar Singh.

128. Tod in his Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I. pp. 405-406 has drawn a pathetic picture of dying Pratap which has been accepted by almost all modern writers. But I find no reference to such a picture in any original sources. Even the later Khyats etc., make no mention of it. I am inclined, therefore, to reject it as based on sentimental hero-worship.

129. Vir Vinod, Vol. II. p. 164.

Again Tod has committed the mistake in his Annals, Vol. I. p. 405 by representing the death scene of the Rana at the bank of Pichhola, Udaipur. His 'Chhatri' at Bandoli falsifies Tod's assumption. Even after Pratap's death Bandoli continued to be the burning place of the royal



Pratap's Cenotaph at Bandoli

The story of the struggle between Pratap and Akbar, which is crowded and too replete with incidents, produces the impression that it was a prolonged and desperate struggle and involved the Mughals in useless sweat and toil. The repeated attempts of the Mughal commanders were foiled by the repeated surprise-assaults launched by the Rajputs and ultimately brought much misery and sufferings on the invaders. For a long time the Mughal interest had to suffer in Bengal and North-West Frontier provinces on account of the major resources of the Mughal empire being utilized against the Rajput fear in Mewar. Expeditions to Mewar were after all given up for some time by Akbar about 1585 A. D. and were never seriously taken up till after his death. During this period the Rajputs reorganized their power and undid all that was done by so much of hard struggle and loss of men and money. Only Chitor and Mandalgarh remained in the hands of the Mughals. The facts as explained above make us think that the right course for Akbar after Haldi-Ghati would have been to stop the useless carnage, to be content with the results already acquired, to hold the captured forts fast, and rally the population of that part to the standard of the principles followed in the Mughal dominion. It is a strange irony of history that Akbar began his career of the conquest in Mewar with its possession of Mandalgarh and Chitor and ended it by retaining of these forts only. As regards Pratap it must be said that for twentyfive years he had played an important part upon the political stage, and represented with remarkable

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house which is clear from an inscription of 1601 A. D. The inscription relates the death of Pratap's sister. As this inscription now forms a part of Pratap's Chhatri, it has given some place for doubt whether it is the Chhatri of Pratap or the Chhatri of his sister. It is just possible that this inscription might have been removed from the neighbouring place and placed at this prominent quarter by some body.

fidelity the views of the great majority of his subjects. He was a great ruler by virtue of his being a good man, with homely virtue, simple life, dauntless courage, untiring industry, generosity, and kindness which won him general affection and respect.[130]

Pratap's death did more than close an epoch. It removed from the stage of Rajput politics its most attractive and most striking personality. By the feats of his political foresight he made alliances with some of the neighbouring states and cleverly. diverted the attention of the Mughal emperor to undo them. This device very often succeeded and Mewar had to feel less the pressure of divided strength of the Mughal army despatched for Rajasthan. As an optimist he took all the blows of adverse fortune with equanimity, and he never bore a grudge against it. By his spirit and success, the soldiers were taught to act, the subjects to hope, and the enemies to fear and respect.

As a general and a leader of man in war Pratap was a person suited to the need of his own time. It is true he commited a sad mistake by engaging himself and his army in a frontal attack on the Mughals at the battle of Haldi-Ghati where four hours of action brought disaster and ruin; but equally true is the fact that he made amends by following subsequently the policy of abandoning a post and retreating to a safe place whenever necessary and rallying his strength in his hilly shelters. Cutting the enemy's communications, surprise attacks and retreat, the new tactics applied scientifically to his advantage against heavy odds, were legacies which he gave to the generations following him. His defensive mountain warfare became a technique in itself. The application of Bhil infantry

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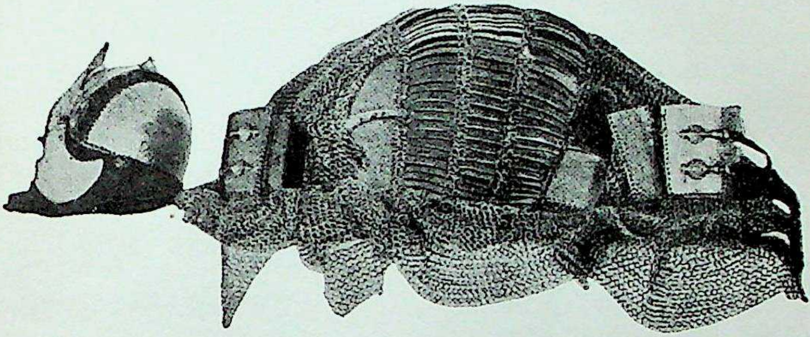
[130] MS. Amarsar, Yash Varnan, Verse, 73, Folio 7 (a).
'कार्यं सुयुक्तया सुधियाचधर्मं शक्तयां रणं मंत्रिगणै र्विचारं
प्रकुर्वनीशा र्चितराज तेजो परिस्खलत्येवनयः कदाचित्'



Armoury of Maharana Pratap

Saddle of Chetak

for dash and sudden attacks added a novelty to his system of warfare which no one can ignore.

Great as he was, one might speculate whether the struggle tended to contribute to the welfare of the country as a whole or produced adverse effect on the future of the land. It is to be admitted as Akbar was a great and benevolent sovereign who pursued the grand policy of unifying the country both politically and culturally, Pratap's remaining aloof from the union was a great impediment in that noble task. To that extent it was injurious to the interest of his country. If at this stage Pratap would have joined the Mughal order he could have saved his country from disaster and ruin. Even his long resistance could not avert the days when during his own son's time Mewar became a subordinate state of the Mughal empire. Had this opportunity been given to Mewar earlier much of its backwardness could have been mended. But Pratap's name is immortal in the history of our land as a great soldier of liberty who concentrated his attention on this moral aspect of the struggle he had to wage without caring for material advantage or loss involved. He upheld the pride of the Hindus and as long as this race lives, it will cherish with pride the memory of one who had staked his all in a fight against an alien. As a great warrior of liberty, a devoted lover of noble cause and a hero of moral character, his name is to millions of men even today, a cloud of hope by day and a pillar of fire by night.

## CHAPTER VI

# AMAR SINGH[1] AND JAHANGIR; WAR AND PEACE.

### (1597—1620 A. D.)

Although Pratap's work of reform and consolidation had done much to improve the tone of the administration in Mewar and added to the security and safety of the people, yet there remained certain problems which demanded immediate attention. The prolonged warfare with the Mughals had squandered all that peaceful economy had accumulated and led Mewar to the edge of financial ruin. The rehabilitation of the central and western Mewar, a great part of which still lay waste, was an imperative necessity. The organization of civil and military departments was of no less importance. The long wars with the Mughals had enhanced the importance of feudal order and had led to mutual rivalry and feud among them, the hostility between Chundawats[2] and Saktawats[3] being an instance in point. This sort of spirit if not mended would tend to undermine the interest and influence of the country and the crown.

Such was the condition when Amar Singh, the eldest son of Pratap came to the throne on 19th

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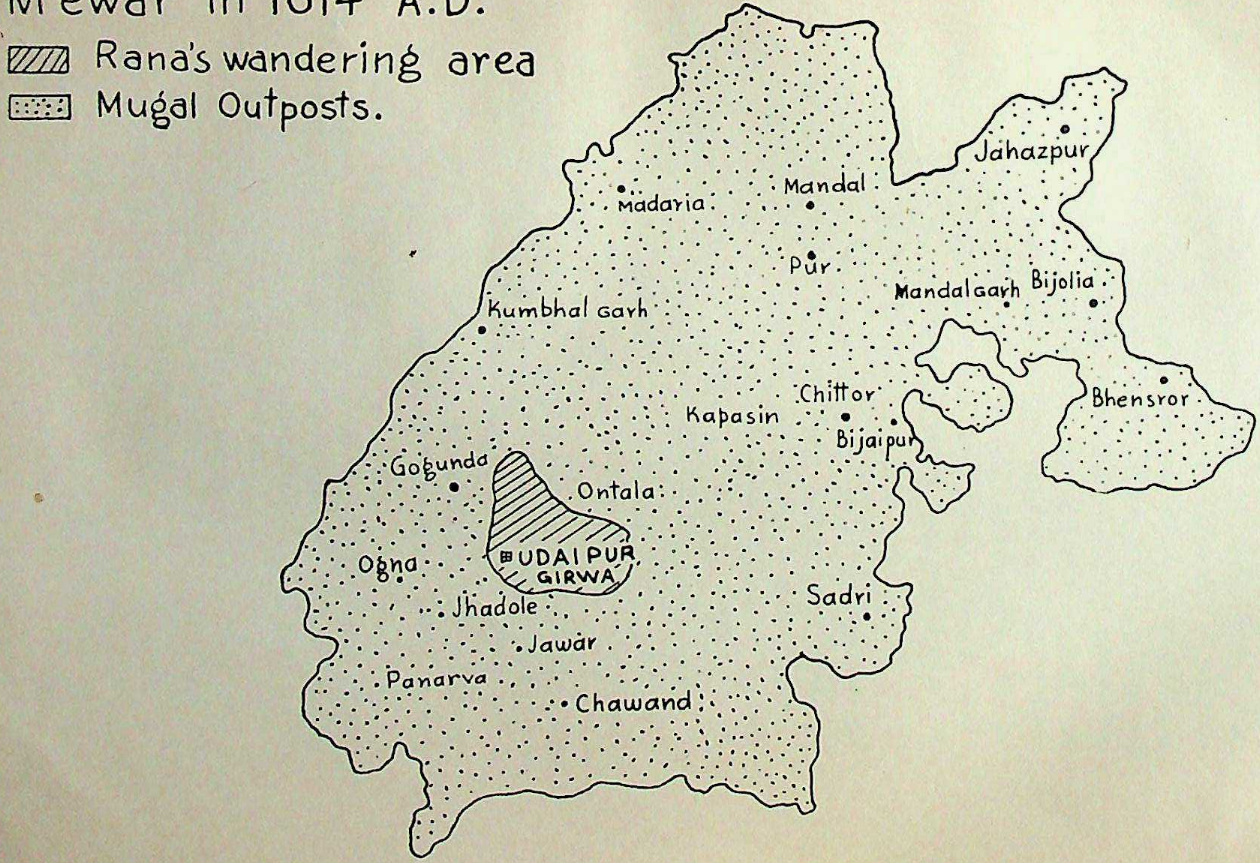
[1] Amar Singh's reigning period was from 19th January, 1597 A. D. to 26th January, 1620 A. D.

[2] A clan so called after Chunda, the eldest son of Rana Lakha, who had renounced his right to the throne in favour of his brother.

[3] The clan which claimed its descent from Sakta, a son of Udai Singh.

# Mewar in 1614 A.D.


▨ Rana's wandering area
▒ Mugal Outposts.
Jahazpur
Madaria
Mandal
Pur
Mandalgarh
Bijolia
Kumbhal Garh
Chittor
Kapasin
Bijaipur
Bhensror
Gogunda
Ontala
UDAIPUR
GIRWA
Ogna
Sadri
Jhadole
Jawar
Panarva
Chawand

January, 1597 A. D.[4] He rightly recognized that the evils under which Mewar groaned were mainly threefold; the rivalry among the nobles, the public disorder and civil and military disorganization of the state. He, therefore, turned his attention to the internal problems of the country. He defined the position and privileges of the individual chiefs and laid down their order of precedence.[5] In order to establish control over his nobles and to make them serve the general good, he began to demote or promote the ranks of the nobles and transfer the Jagirs.[6] Begun, Ratangarh, Bedla, Delwara and Badnor were the instances. These were transferred and retransferred from one Jagirdar to another during his time.[7]

He took steps for the rehabilitating of the people who had been displaced from their homes and suffered on account of the Mughal invasions. He founded the town of Sarara and small villages (Kheras) in the Kumbhalgarh District[8] when he was a prince. He alloted lands in Kelwa[9] (Kumbhalgarh District) Muroli[10] (Chitor District) and Rampura[11] (Lakhola

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[4] MS. Suryavansh, F. 56 (a).

[5] It was Amar Singh who organized the feudal order based on the distinction of 'Umraos' of the rank of sixteen and 'Sardars' of the rank of thirtytwo.

[6] Tod : Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I. p. 409.

[7] Tod : Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I. p. 409.
Ojha : U. R. I., Vol. I. pp. 491, 506.

[8] A copper-plate inscription in the possession of Mr. Lakshmi Lal, Mohasal of Badi Pol gate, Udaipur records his early measures of founding the town of Sarara and small villages (Khera) habilitating the Deoras in V. S. 1630.

[9] Kelwa-grant, No. 343 dated the 7th of the bright-half of V. S. 1662 (1605 A. D.) preserved in Commissioner's Office, Udaipur, records the grant of 121 Bighas of land to Purohit Anand.

[10] Photograph of a Patta dated V. S. 1892 in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur records the grant of 200 Bighas of land to Deva in Muroli by Amar Singh I.

District) to the uprooted families. He gave large sums of money in free-gift to those of his followers who stood in need of financial assistance.

To supplement the local militia he kept a standing army of footmen, horses, chariots and elephants.[12] He entrusted the charge of his entire force to his able commander, Hari Das Jhala.[13] For the defence of his land he constructed Amargarh in Jahazpur district. He employed men from Gondwana and Multan in his artillery department.[14] He made a large collection of armours for conducting offensive and defensive wars against the Mughals.[15]

While the Rana was engaged in putting his house in order and making preparations for defence he had to face in 1599 A. D. an encounter with prince Salim, who was ordered by the emperor to proceed with a view to subdue Amar Singh, the successor of Pratap. The prince who was more serious about his own plan of acquiring the throne than about reducing the Rana took the order in a casual manner. He paid a short visit to Udaipur[16] and passed the rest of his

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11. A copper-plate inscription, No. 649 dated V. S. 1891, in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur, records the grant of land in Rampura to Goswami Maya Bharti by Amar Singh I.

12. MS. Amarsar, Canto I, V. 259.

"रचै हस्त्यश्व पदाति सद्रथगवै रापूरयंतो धरां"

13. MS. Amarsar, Canto I, V. 259.

सिंहोपमा शौर्य गुणेन सम्यक् कृतोधिकारी हरिदास झाल:

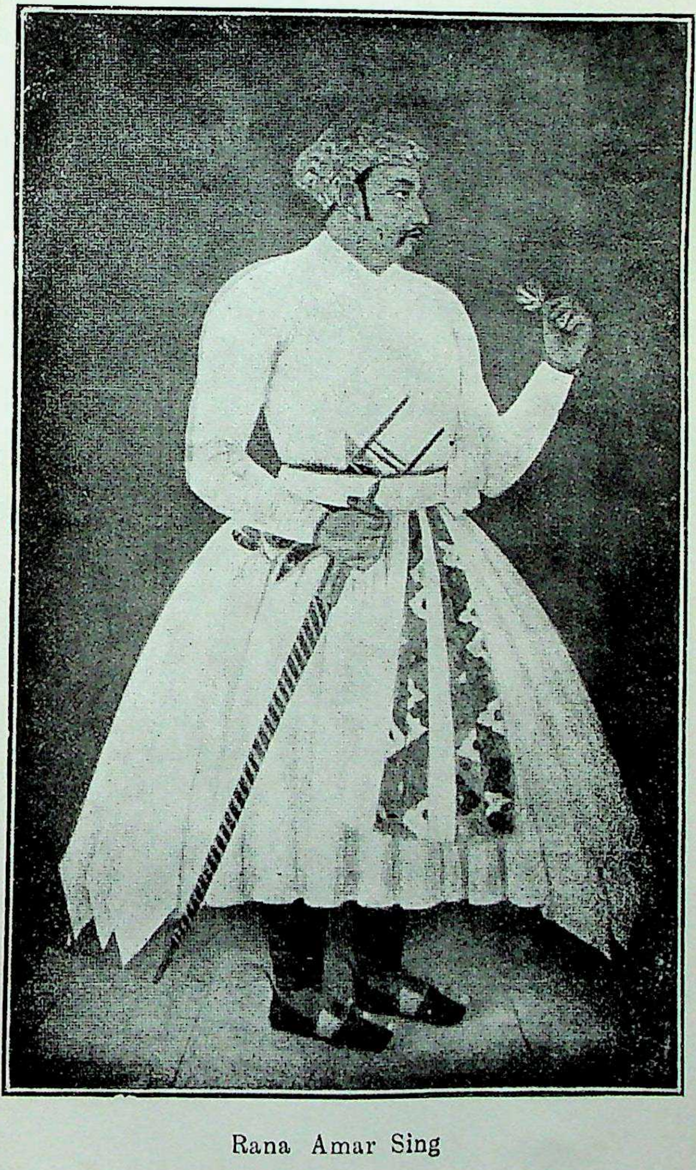
14. MS. Amarsar, Canto I, V. 223.

अंग बंग सुकलिंग भटौघा: चौडगौंड मरहट्ट मलिंध्रा:
गुर्जराश्चवर वाग्वर जाता: सेवयंत्यमरसिंह पदाब्जम् ।।२२३।।

15. MS. Amarsar, Canto I, V. 255.

'शकुंतनारा चशितास्त्रतार, यद्राजधान्यं गणस्त्र शोभाम्'

16. Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p, 468,



Rana Amar Sing

time in loitering near Ajmer. However his lethargy was more than counter-balanced by his lieutenants who exerted themselves with vigour and succeeded in establishing strong outposts at Ontala,. Mohi, Bagore, Mandal, Mandalgarh, Chitor and several other places.[17]

The Rajputs offered a gallant resistance and led attacks on several outposts of the Mughals. Sultan Khan Ghori, the leader of the Mughal outpost of Bagore' was defeated and killed.[18] Next they achieved success against the commander of Rampura.[19] Kayum Khan, the Mughal general of Ontala was killed while resisting the Rajput attack and the fort of Ontala fell in the hands of Amar Singh's men[20]. If the Rajput Chroni-

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Maasir-i-Jahangiri, (Journal of Indian History, Vol. VIII. pp. 179-181.)

[17] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 819.
Takmilai Akbarnama of Inayatulla, Elliot, Vol. VI. p. 110.
Beni Prasad : Jahangir, p. 226.

[18] MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, F. 108 (a).

[19] MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, F. 108 (a).

[20] Raj Prashasti, Canto V. 4.
MS. Raj Prakash of Kishore Das, F. 24, 25.
MS. Vanshavali Ranajini F. 70 (a).
MS. Suryavansh, F. 56 (a).

Tradition about the Rajput victory at Ontala runs thus: The Rana told the Chundawat and Saktawat chiefs that one who first enters the fort of Ontala will have in future the right to command the Van of the Sisodia army. This put the two chiefs on their mettle. Saktawats took their post against the closed gateway and their chief urged his elephant to dash him against its sharp iron stakes. The Chundawats chose their station near the wall. The siege was pushed on against the resistance of the Mughals till Ballu (Saktawat) met his end by bringing himself between the door and the elephant and Jaitra Singh, the leader of the Chundawat died in the action and his followers threw his body into the fort in order to claim victory of the fort. However their efforts brought about the fall of cle[21] can be relied upon, in a short space of time no less than eighty of the chief towns and fortresses of Mewar were recovered. But in these actions the Rajputs lost Jait Singh, Ballu, Achaldas, Rama and Subha Karan.[22] The Mughals also retaliated by ravaging the fields, burning their habitations and imprisoning some of the inhabitants.[23] The prince, however, repaired to Agra and Man Singh was asked to go to Bengal. In this way the whole operation terminated without much success[24].

The news of the failure of this expedition highly displeased the emperor, who in 1603 A. D. again ordered Salim to resume the enterprise with vigour. A large force was placed at his disposal and several Amirs and Omras like Jagannath, Madho Singh, Sadiq Khan, Hashim Khan, Islam Kuli, Sher Beg, Amir Beg etc., were ordered to accompany the prince to accomplish the conquest of Mewar. But the lethargical prince practically refused to move. The emperor contemplated sending prince Khusrav and Sagar to conduct the campaign, but owing to his illness and his subsequent death it came to nothing.[25]

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fort and both the leaders claimed the credit to themselves. The Rana decided in favour of the Chundawat chief who was henceforth to lead the Mewar advance-guard in battle. The story, as it is told, has not been given in any reliable Rajput source which only refer to the victory of Ontala. Hence we reject the story.

[21] MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, F. 109. (a)

[22] MS. Raj Prakash by Kishore Das, F. 25.

[23] Iqbalnama, (Persian Text), Vol II. p. 468.
Maasir-i-Jahangiri, (J. I. History), Vol. VIII. p. 181.

[24] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (Persian Text), Vol. I. p. 7.

[25] Abul Fazl : Akbarnama, Elliot, Vol. VI. p. 110.
Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (Persian Text), Vol. I. p. 7.
Iqbalnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p. 496; Iqbalnama gives a list of more than 60 important officers who accompanied the prince,

But as soon as Jahangir assumed power, the conquest of Mewar which was always put off by him on one pretext or another, when he was a prince, was now taken up seriously. His motives of conquest soon moulded on lines laid down by Akbar viz., to compel Amar Singh to recognize his suzerainty. In the very first year of his reign, Nov. (1605 A. D.) he despatched an army of 22,000 horse well equipped with artillery and treasury against the Rana under the command of Parviz and Asaf Khan Jafar Beg.[26] With him was associated Sagar[27] with the view that his presence as a prince of Rana's family might prove helpful.

The Rana who had made remarkable progress in the occupation of his lost parts, organized[28] his military power in such a way as to meet the enemy from the fronts of Deo Suri, Badnor, Mandalgarh and Mandal.[29] From the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri it appears that the Mughal commanders could make no fair progress. Finding the affairs arduous, prince Parviz opened peace negotiations with the Rana's men at Mandalgarh, prince Bagh, one of the sons of the Rana represented Amar Singh. In the meantime there broke out Khusrav's revolt and Parviz was called back by the emperor's orders.[30] Jagannath[31] was left in charge of the campaign, but nothing substantial came out of this expedition.[32]

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[26] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (P. T.), Vol. I. p. 7; Iqbalnama, (P. T.), Vol. III. pp. 512-513. Kambu : Amal, (MS.) p. 48.

Lahauri : Badshahnama, (P. T.), Vol. I. p. 165.

[27] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (Per. Text), Vol. I. p. 7.

He was one of the sons of Udai Singh, the father of Rana Pratap and on account of his displeasure with Pratap, had repaired to the Mughal court, where he was given shelter.

Jahangir gave him the title of Rana and sent him to Chitor as a Mughal Jagirdar. Later on when there was treaty between the Rana and the emperor he was deprived of his Jagir of Chitor and a fiefship in central India was conferred upon him. He was later on sent to Bihar with his status raised. He died in 1617 A. D.

[28] Tod : in his Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I. pp. 409-410 gives a coloured picture of the Rana as laiden with luxury at the palace of Pichhola, Udaipur. According to him it was the noble of Salumber who roused him from torpor. This story has been accepted uncritically by almost all modern writers. But the account as narrated by Tod seems imaginary because the Rana was not living during these days at Udaipur but was living at Chawand. The whole picture befits western than eastern life of the court. Again he seems to have confused a later invasion by Abdullah with this invasion of Parviz. The former

In order to bring the Mewar campaign to a successful conclusion, the emperor fitted out a powerful expedition under the leadership of Mahabat Khan in July, 1608 A. D. In order to exalt his position a high rank was conferred upon him and those who were ordered to follow him were also rewarded. Being helped by some of the ablest officers and an efficient army, Mahabat opened the campaign with full vigour. He marched through the country breaking through Rajput defences and carried death and destruction wherever he went. Several soldiers were slain in the action and a large number of Rajput warriors were imprisoned. His victorious arms reached up to the Girwa which made the Rana retreat into the hilly tracts of Mewar.[33]

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invaded Mewar in 1608 A. D. and the latter invaded Mewar in 1605 A. D.

[29] Vir Vinod, Vol. II. p. 223.

[30] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,. (Persian Text), Vol. I. p. 33.
Iqbalnama, (Persian Text), Vol. II. pp. 512-513.

[31] Tod is not right (vide his Annals, Vol. I. pp. 417-418) in supposing that Parviz had left the command to his son. This is not possible because Parviz, born in 1589 A. D., could not have a son old enough to command an army in 1606 A. D.

[32] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (Persian Text), Vol. I. p. 35.

[33] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (Persian Text), Vol. I. p. 70.
Iqbalnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. pp. 521-522.

However, the Rajputs did not desist from making surprise attacks on the enemy. The daring action of Bagh and Megh Singh as described by the local annalists,[34] checked the progress of the enemy and turned the tables against him. During one night Bagh Singh despatched his followers in the disguise of melon-sellers with their buffaloes loaded with artillery pretending to sell melons. When they reached the portals of Mahabat's camp, an equal number of the buffaloes who were made to lurk in the forest rushed out with oil-soaked rags tied to their horns and set fire to the artillery and the camp of the enemy. This created confusion in the Mughal camp. Amid such chaos and confusion three hundred Rajput soldiers attempted a night attack and made the confusion worst confounded. Mahabat was forced to retreat, leaving his baggages and other materials of war at the mercy of the Rajputs who plundered them. The success that the Mughals acquired in more than one place was thus foiled by Bagh's daring night attack on the Mughal camp. The campaign thus ended not in a complete defeat but a confused rout of the Mughals who could not meet the guerilla tactics of the foes. Mahabat left Mewar in despair leaving Sagar[35] at Chitor and Jagannath Kachhawaha at Mandal. The latter died[36] there a year after. Though the Mughal

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Kambu : Amal, (MS.) p. 48.

[34] Raj Prakash of Kishore Das, F. 24.
Vir Vinod, Vol. II. p. 225.

[35] MS. Nensi's Khyat, F. 7 (a).
MS. Sisod Vanshavali, F. 29 (a).

The emperor's farman, regarding the Jagir of Kunwar Karan Singh, dated 11th May, 1615 A. D. of the confidential office of the Maharana of Udaipur makes mention of 'Sagar' Jagir of Chitor. (Vide Vir Vinod, Vol. II. pp. 239, 245, 250).

[36] His cenotaph was raised afterwards at Mandal bearing the inscription, dated 11th of the bright-half of V. S. 1670 (1613 A. D.).

sources do not mention this discomfiture, the way in which Jahangir has expressed dissatisfaction with the progress of the war indicates the truth of the story as narrated above. Jahangir had deplored this failure also in his memoirs by saying, "the affair did not assume an approved form."[37]

To retrieve the position, Jahangir sent in June, 1609 A. D. Abdullah[38], a rash commander and valorous soldier at the head of a large force, consisting of 12,000 men to carry on the war in Mewar. His status was raised by conferring upon him the title of Firoz Jang. With Abdullah as their chief leader, the Mughals assumed the offensive with full vigour. In the beginning the Mughals made some progress, as the Rajputs as usual had retreated to the Hills.[39] Abdullah broke through hilly defences of the Rana and made him quit Chawand[40] and Merpur[41]. On hearing the reports of this success the emperor was pleased and granted honour and rewards to meritorious and deserving men of the army.[42] But the imperial success was short lived. The Rajputs in their part retaliated by devastating the Mughal territory in Malwa, Gujarat, Ajmer and Godwad [43]. Mukand Das and Bhim inflicted a severe defeat on Abdullah at Ranpur, near Kumbhalgarh. Nevertheless he made his name by harassing the Rajputs in the hilly tracts of Mewar. Yet the emperor transferred him to Gujarat as his presence was badly needed in that quarter.[44]

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[37] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (Persian Text), Vol. I. p. 75.

[38] Khwajah Abdullah had migrated from Hisar in Transoxiana to India in the year 1592 A. D. and had entered the service of Akbar. (Maasir-ul-Umara, MS. Vol. II. FF. 24-25).

MS. Kambu : Amal, p. 49 ; Lahauri : Badshahnama, (P. T.) Vol. I. p. 165.

[39] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (Per. Text), Vol. I. p. 75 ; Iqbalnama, (Per. Text), Vol. III. p. 523 ; Kambu : Amal, p. 49.

[40] MS. Nensi's Khyat, F. 16 (b).

[41] Maasir-ul-Umara, (MS.) Vol. II. F. 25.

[42] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (Per. Text), Vol. I. p. 75.

[43] MS. Nensi's Khyat, F. 16 (b), 17 (a).

The next commander to be sent to Mewar was Raja Basu[45] (1612 A. D.). He as a careless general made no headway against the Rajputs. He was suspected of being in alliance with the Rajputs.[46] He was recalled and his post was filled by Mirza Aziz Koka (1613 A. D.)[47].

But as there was no improvement in the situation Jahangir resolved to take the command in his own hands. On 7th Sep. 1613 A. D. the emperor set out

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Raj Prashasti, Canto 5th, V. 5th

MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F: 48 (a).

'पुत्रोस्य कर्णसिंहाख्य सिरोजं मालवा भुवम
वंघोराख्यं बभंज च दंड चक्रेति लुंटनम्'
"पुत्र श्री अमरेश भूपतिमणे रग्रे सरोग्रे रणे
रुद्धो म्लेच्छ बलैः ससंगर करेः श्री कर्णसिंहाभिधः
वीरेन्द्रैः सहितः सिंरोज नगर स्याद्धा करो न्यालनम्
दंडे तत्र चकार पार रहितं भूयो महा लुंटनम्"

[44] Maasir-ul-Umara, (MS.) Vol. II. F. 25.

[45] Tuzuk, (P. T.), p. 123; Kambu : Amal, (MS.), p. 49.

Raja Basu was a Zamindar of Mau and Pathankot in the Bari Doab of the Punjab. During Akbar's reign he had broken into open revolts several times and had allied himself with the rebellious prince Salim. When Jahangir became emperor he presented himself in 1605 at the court. The new emperor raised him from position to position thereafter. (Maasir-ul-Umara, Beveridge, Vol. I. pp. 392-394.

[46] MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 47 (b). The Rana gave an idol of Krishna to Basu's priest and conferred grant upon him of the village Jhiliya, dated 9th of dark-half of Shravan, V. S. 1669 (1612 A.D.)

[47] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (Per. Text), Vol. I. p. 124.
Maasir-ul-Umara, Beveridge, Vol. I. p. 329.

in person and arrived at Ajmer on 8th Nov. He invested Khurram with the supreme command of the army unbinded for service against the Rana. Khurram had an extraordinarily quick eye for enemy's weak position, and could see at once how best to utilize the opportunities for attaining his objects. Aziz Koka and Mirza Khan Azam were sent along with him. A reinforcement of 12,000 cavalry was also despatched to join him. Fidai Khan[48] was appointed as pay master of this army and other officers of repute were ordered to join the prince with their contingents. The prince and other deserving officers were honoured according to their position with tokens of rank and reward. He left Ajmer for Mewar on 17th Dec. 1613 A. D.[49]

Full of resources, gifted with a notable mastery over men, the prince showed his talent for command in successfully managing the expedition. He made out a plan so as to cover the whole of Mewar as a theatre of operation, and directed the movement of the entire army to a common end. As soon as he made successful progress in the interior, he instituted six military stations under different commanders:- Jamal Khan Turki at Mandal, Dost Beg at Kapasin, Sayyid Kazi at Ontala, Arab Khan at Nahar Magra, Shihab Khan at Debari and some other general at Dabok. After occupying the above places, the prince proceeded to Udaipur. He established lines of communication between the various Mughal posts and posted his trusted followers at various key-points in Mewar. His pressure made the Rajputs run to their hilly shelters. But Khurram did not allow them any rest there too. He sent his four officers of repute at the head of contingent of troops to the hilly parts of the interior of Mewar. The first contingent was led by Abdullah Khan, the second was headed by Dilawar Khan, the third was under Sayyid Saif Khan and Raja Krishna Singh Rathor and the fourth was commanded by Mir Muhammad Taqi.[50]

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[48] His other name was Hidayat Ullah. He was the youngest of the four brothers who became the Vakil of Mahabat Khan and was for a long time attached to the court and a recipient of royal favour. (Massir-ul-Umara, Beveridge, Vol. I. pp. 558-561.)

[49] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (Per. Text), Vol. I. p. 125.

Iqbalnama, (Per. Text), Vol. III. pp. 534-535.

Maasir-i-Jahangiri, (Journal of Indian History, Vol. VIII. p. 180.)

MS. Kambu: Amal, p. 49.

Lahauri: Badshahnama, (P. T.), Vol. I. p. 166.

The Rajputs, on their part displayed great courage and vigour in the face of the grim spectre of defeat that stared them in the face. Kunwar Bhim repelled the march of the imperialist troops led by Taqi and bewildered them by night attacks.[51] At other points Dungar Singh, Mohan Das, Duda Sangawat etc. showed their gallant action and died a heroic death while defending the land.[52] But this was nothing before the superior military tactics employed by the prince. He was successful in capturing seventeen elephants including 'Alam Kaman', and sent them to the emperor on 11th March, 1614 A. D.[53] The prince's troops began covering themselves with glory in all quarters and every important part[54] of Mewar was slowly going down before his military organization and power of diplomacy.

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[50] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (Per. Text), Vol. I. p. 133.
Iqbalnama, (Per. Text), Vol. III. p. 536.
Kambu: Amal-i-Salih, (Per. Text), Vol. I. p. 55.
Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, (Per. Text), Vol. I. pp. 278-279.

[51] Maasir-i-Jahangiri, (Journal of Indian History, Vol. VIII. p. 180) gives the encounter by the Rana.
MS. Nensi's Khyat, F. I6 (b), 17 (a).

[52] MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, F. 108 (b).

[53] Iqbalnama, (Per. Text), Vol III. p. 535.
Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (Per. Text), Vol. I. p. 127.
MS. Kambu: Amal-i-Salih, Vol. I. pp. 55-56.
Lahauri: Badshahnama, (P. T.), Vol. I. p. 169.

For Mewar this long and bitter struggle was an unrelieved calamity. Great atrocities were committed, none more notable than the destruction of population, demolition of temples, scattering of dead bodies and selling of their wives and children as slaves.[55] The picture of Mewar was, then as we may rightly conclude, one of unspeakable misery of the countryside, of population wasted, of peasants rendered homeless and of alarming amount of unrest and disorder. It was a scene nothing worse than a famine where the harvest was burnt, houses put to flames and immense danger inflicted upon property. It must have shattered the whole social order to its core.

The war had an immediate effect in the interior organization of the country. The whole structure within was loosening itself by the loss of veteran warriors.[56] At last dismayed by the heavy odds arrayed against them, the nobles of Mewar, who saw their lands devastated, their villages burnt, their associates killed or wounded urged the Rana to enter into a peace with the prince.[57] The Rana who too was tired of prolonged warfare sent Hari Das Jhala and Shubh Karan to Khurram with a proposal of peace.[58] The prince sent on the Rajput representatives to the imperial head-quarters at Ajmer in company of Mulla Shukrullah Shirazi and Sunder Das recommending that there was no surer way of earning the approbation of the Rana than by maintaining friendly relations with the Sisodias. Jahangir gave his consent to the proposal adding therein that the fort of Chitor was not to be fortified or repaired.[59] He also sent a farman with the impression of his own palm,[60] to be handed over to the Rana for the ratification of the terms.

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[54] MS. Sisod Vanshavali, F. 29 (a) records the establishment of eightyfour Mughal outposts. Kambu in his Amal-i-Salih, (Per. Text), Vol, I. p. 58 gives some places which had fallen in the Mughal hands. Some of the names of these places have not been correctly given. The right names and their location have been provided in the brackets. They are:– Khumbhalmir (Kumbhalgarh), Jhadal (Jhadol, 20 miles N. W. of Udaipur), Anjanv, Angane (Ogna, 30 miles S. W. of Kherwara), Chavand, Bijapur, Javar, Madavi (Madri, 5 miles N.E. of Udaipur), Pavaddada (Padvada near Jai-Samudra), Kavada, (Kevada near Jai-Samudra), Sadadi (Sadri, 40 miles east of Udaipur).

[55] Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 535.
Maasir-i-Jahangiri, (Journal of I. H., Vol. VIII. p. 181),
Muntakhab-u l-Lubab, (Per. Text), Vol. I. p. 278-279.

[56] Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, (Per. Text), Vol. III, P. 535.

As soon as the formal sanction had come, the prince informed the Rana of the approval of the terms[61] and sent his own men Shukrullah and Sunder Das to the Rana to hand over the farman. The terms were :—

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[57] MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 48 (a).
MS. Sisod Vanshavali, F. 29 (a) (b).

[58] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (Per. Text), Vol. I. P. 134.
Iqbalnama, (Per. Text), Vol. III. p. 536.
MS. Kambu: Amal-i-Salih Vol. I. p. 62.
Lahauri: Badshahnama, (P. T.), Vol. I. pp. 170-171.

[59] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (Per. Text), Vol. I. p. 134.
MS. Kambu: Amal-i-Salih, Vol. I. pp. 60-61.
Lahauri: Badshahnama, (P. T.), Vol. I. p. 172.

[60] The original farman bearing the impression of palm is in the possession of the confidential office of the Maharana Udaipur, and is in a fairly good state of perservation.

[61] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (Per. Text), Vol. I. p. 134.
MS. Kambu: Amal-i-Salih, Vol. I. pp. 60-61.
MS. Nensi's Khyat, F. 8 (b).

(1) The Rana would himself come and wait on Khurram.

(2) He would send his son, Karan to the court.

(3) He would, after the manner of other Rajas, be enrolled amongst the servants of the court and do service.

(4) He would be excused from attending the court in person.

(5) Chitor would be restored to the Rana on condition that it would not be fortified or repaired.

(6) The Rana would provide a contingent of 1000 horse.

The Rana accepted the terms and welcomed the Mughal Officers. Next he proceeded to Gogunda[62] on 5th Feb. 1615 A. D. to meet the prince. The interview was perfectly cordial.[63] Greetings and offerings

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MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 48 (b).
MS. Sisod Vanshavali, F. 29 (b).

[62] Iqbalnama, (Per. Text), Vol. III. p. 536.
MS. Kambu : Amal-i-Salih, Vol. I. p. 62.
Lahauri : Badshahnama, (P. T.), Vol. I.p. 173.
MS. Nensi's Khyat, F. 8 (b).

[63] MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 48 (b). Muslim sources give a strange account of the interview. Tuzuk, (Per. Text), Vol I.P. 135 records, "The Rana clasped his feet and asked forgiveness for the faults". The writer of Iqbalnama, (Per. Text), Vol. III. P. 536 says, "I as a Bakshi was present at the occasion and, therefore, I could clearly see that the Rana was making low salutation from the place the throne was visible from distance". These accounts are wildly improbable for kissing of the feet was not a recognised manner of paying respects to kings or prince among either the Mughals or the Rajputs. Moreover, the mode of salutation given by the Muslim writers was expected only from the low class of the Mughal officers with which the Rana was not familiar. Humiliation of the Rana is also out of harmony with the account of the rest of the behaviour of the prince. The Mughal princes were not boorish

were mutually exchanged. Khurram honoured the Rana with a superb dress of honour, a jewelled sword, a horse with a jewelled saddle, an elephant with a silver housing. One hundred robes of honour, fifty horses and twelve jewelled daggers were also given for the Rana's followers.[64] The Rana on his part offered sweets, superb dress, gold, jewels, seven elephants and an invaluable ruby.[65]

After the Rana's interview prince Karan, the heir-apparent also waited on Khurram, and received as a mark of favour a superb dress of honour, a jewelled sword, a dagger, a special elephant and a horse with gold saddle.[66] After the ratification of the treaty the

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savages unaccustomed to magnanimous treatment of their enemies. Elaborate treatment and etiquette and not petty exhibition of vindictiveness was always characteristic of solemn scenes of peace-making. The writer of Amarkavya is right to mention that the greetings were cordial.

[64] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (Per. Text), Vol. I. p. 135.
Iqbalnama, (Per. Text), Vol. III. pp. 535-537.

[65] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (Per. Text), Vol. I. p. 135.
Iqbalnama, (Per. Text), Vol. III. p. 537.
MS. Kambu : Amal, p. 49.
MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 48 (b).

Jahangir in Tuzuk, (Per. Text), Vol .I. P. 140 gives details of the ruby thus :— "The celebrated ruby of the Rana, which, on the day of his respects, he had made an offering of to my son, and which jewellers valued at 60,000 rupees. It was formerly in the possession of Rai Maldeo, who was the chief ruler of Hindustan. From him it was transferred to Chandrasen, who, in the days of his wretchedness and hopelessness, sold it to Rana Udai Singh. From him it went to Rana Pratap, and afterwards to the Rana Amar Singh. As they had no more valuable gifts in their family, he presented it on the day that he paid his respects to my fortunate son Baba Khurram together with the whole of his stud of elephants, which according to the Indian idiom, they called 'Ghata Char'."

[66] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (Per. Text), Vol. I. p. 135.
Iqbalnama, (Per. Text), Vol. III. p. 537.
MS. Nensi's Khyat, F. 8 (b).

prince left with Karan for Delhi where Karan was honoured by a Mansab of 5000 and presents.[67] Then followed the interview of Jagat Singh (1615), son of Kunwar Karan who made presents to the emperor and received rich rewards from the emperor in return.[68]

The treaty of 1615 A. D. terminated almost a century old struggle between the two ruling houses. It must be regarded as a political triumph for Jahangir and a personal triumph for Khurram. The treaty between Amar Singh and Jahangir stands on a different plain from that of between a Mughal ruler and any other Rajput chief of Rajasthan. Whereas other Rajput rulers were required to attend the imperial Darbar in person, the Rana was exempted and it was agreed to the emperor that he would be represented by his crown prince. The humiliating practice of a matrimonial alliance which other Rajput chiefs had entered with the Mughal ruling family was not included in the terms of the treaty. These were the special concessions which were made to the Rana of Udaipur on account of his pre-eminent position among the Rajput rulers. An insistence on them too would have prolonged the century-old war between the Mughals and the Sisodias. The treaty not only accorded special treatment to the

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[67] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (Per. Text), Vol. I. pp. 135-144.
Iqbalnama, (Per. Text), Vol. III. pp. 535, 553.
Nensi's Khyat, F. 14 (a).
Imperial Farman, Vir Vinod, Vol. II. p. 239.
Lahauri : Badshahnama, (P.T.), Vol. I. p. 176.

[68] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (Per. Text), Vol. I. p. 145.
Lahauri : Badshahnama, (P. T.), Vol. I. p. 176.
MS. Amarkav ya Vanshavali, F. 49 (a).

'राणा अमरसिंहेन्द्रो जहाँगीरस्य तुष्ट्ये जगत्सिंहे प्रेशितवान् ...............जहाँगीरो मुहुस्तस्मै भूषणादि ददौ मुदा तुरंग मातंग महादेशान् दत्वा गृहान्प्रति गंतुं आज्ञा ददौ दिल्लीनाथः'

Rana but at the same time it reflected statesmanship and generosity on the part of Jahangir and his son Khurram.

Some casual observers find fault with Amar Singh for giving up the struggle and entering into a treaty with the Mughals. According to them the restoration of Chitor was hedged with conditions and, therefore, was worse than useless. The sending of a Rajput contingent at the Mughal court from Mewar was a humiliation to the people of the state and betokened subservience.

The above criticism is based on sentiment and ignores the sufferings to which Mewar had been subjected by the prolonged warfare. The country had to pay a price for peace, and that was the recognition by its ruler of the nominal suzerainty of the Mughals whose policy was not to interfere in the internal affairs of the vassal states of Rajasthan. The loss occasioned by the recognition of Mughal sovereignty was more than compensated by peace for two generations—a peace without humiliation, for the emperor did not insist on the presence of the Rana in the court or sending a 'Dola' to his harem. Those who condemn the treaty do not seem to realize the consequences of the prolonged struggle. It was an unequal war in which eventually Mewar was bound to perish sooner or later. If, as the critics say, war was bound to recur, two generations of peace gave the Rana enough of strength to fight with a better chance of success. Hence barring sentimental satisfaction the treaty proved to be beneficial for Mewar.

After the treaty of 1615 A. D. Amar Singh made an attempt to reorganise and reform the administration and to repair the ravages of the long war. He remodelled the administrative body by the appointment of

Dungar Shah as the Chief Minister.[69] According to Tod he made a new assessment of the lands and regulated the sumptuary laws for court etiquette, dress and other formalities.[70] He also constructed a new palace at Udaipur which is still remembered by his name as 'Amar Mahal'. To him are ascribed the construction of fountains, baths and gardens.[71] His time of repose was also utilized in the direction of peaceful reforms of patronizing learned men and grant of stipends for the cause of education.[72] He was also known during this period as giver of charity of land, horses and elephants to Brahmins and deserving persons.[73]

During his later days Amar Singh seems to have sunk in sloth and luxury. His court poet Jivadhar,[74] the author of Amarsar describes his daily routine in a summer when he was engrossed in the company of ladies, in enjoyments of baths. His pastime during those days consisted of excessive hunting or enjoying animal fights.

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[69] MS. Amarsar, Canto I, V. 199.

वरचित्रकूट दुर्गो नगरं नागौर भवनियो मार:
मंत्री डुंगरसिंहो धात्र्यां रत्नानि चत्वारि ॥१६६॥

[70] Tod: Annals & Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I. p. 409.

[71] MS. Amarsar, Canto I, V. 390.

'ग्रीष्मे ऋतौ जल क्रीडां विधातुं
वनिता जनै:, प्रयाति भोग सामग्री
प्रबलोमरसिंह राट्' etc.

[72] MS. Amarsar, Canto I, V. 90.

[73] MS. Amarsar, Canto I, V. 90.

यद्वारे राजधान्या: समद करिघटा बद्धपाश्वे र्थयद्भि:
लब्ध्वा वारैकदानं करि तुरग रथ ग्राम वर्षा सनादि
पश्चादाजन्मकालं तृणमिव गणयंतोखिलं चान्यभूपं
नैवस्याभ्यर्थयंते प्रमित सुख कला सद्बुधा...नितांतं ॥६०॥

Dhaya ka Devra Inscription, V. 5th.

[74] MS. Amarsar, Sukhvarnan, VV. 390 to 405,

Amar Singh died on 26th January, 1620 A. D. We cannot deny the credit which was due to him for his administrative schemes, economic reforms, institution of the ranks of the nobility, of zeal for education and literature.

## CHAPTER VII

# SHAH JAHAN IN MEWAR; HIS POLICY AS EMPEROR

## (1620—1652 A.D.)

After the death of Amar Singh, his son Rana Karan Singh[1] ascended the throne of Mewar on 26th January, 1620 A.D. He was confirmed in his dignity and invested with his ancestral title of Rana, a robe of honour, a horse and an elephant by emperor Jahangir. Raja Kishan Das was sent to Udaipur to perform the dues of condolence and congratulation.[2] His reign was marked by internal and external tranquillity which Mewar enjoyed on account of the treaty of peace of 1615 A.D.

The new Rana utilized his time in attempting some administrative and economic reforms. He divided his country into Parganas,[3] and appointed Patels, Patwaris and Chawkidars for village administration.[4] He extended charity[5] to the needy persons probably to attract the homeless persons of his dominions to return and establish themselves again in Mewar. He also constructed a huge palace at Udaipur and began the construction of its massive city walls.[6] These reforms stablized the administration and developed a sense of security and safety in the hearts of the common people.[7] They also proved conducive to the progress of agricultural and commercial activity of the state. His scheme of construction of buildings and fore-walls of the city must have provided employment to the dislodged labour.

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[1] He was born on the 4th of the bright-half of Magh, V. S. 1640 (7th January, 1584 A. D.) He was enthroned on the 2nd of the bright-half of Magh, V. S. 1676 (26th Jan. 1620 A. D.).

[2] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (Persian Text), p. 289.
Iqbalnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. p. 559.
Tarikh-i-Salatin Chaghtai, Vol. I. (MS.), F. 325 (b).

[3] Various divisions of his parganas are clear from his Rampol inscription of Chitor, dated the 15th of the bright-half of Asoj, V. S. 1678, (20th Sep. 1621). It refers to the parganas of Mandalgarh, Phutaro and Bhinaya. Similarly photograph of the plate No. 26/10B Jagir A, S. 95, preserved in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur, refers to the inclusion of the village Jali in the pargana of Rampur.

[4] Vir Vinod, Vol. II. pp. 269-271,

The Rana was also fortunate to live at a time when the relations between the Mewar and the Mughals happened to be more intimate than at any other period before or after his reign. Such an intimacy grew out of the frequent meetings[8] between Khurram and Rana Karan. In the second place, the tie of intimacy became strengthened due to the rebellion of prince Khurram against his father.

When the Mughal garrison had fallen at Kandhar at the end of 1620 A.D., Khurram was ordered to proceed with an army to defend the frontier. But the prince showed reluctance to march towards Kandhar before the end of rainy season. He also demanded the fort of Ranthambhor for the residence of his family. He insisted on the governorship of the Punjab and a full command of the frontier forces. These demands were intended to be safeguards against the probable support of Shahryar's claim by the wilful queen, Nurjahan. The unwelcome suspicion of Khurram further aggravated the cause of dissension when fief of Dholpur, his Jagir in the Punjab and the command of the frontier were conferred upon Shahryar.[9]

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[5] Dhaya ka Devra Inscription, V. 6.

'तस्माद्भूर भोज समान दानी श्री कर्णसिंहो धरणी सतेजः'

[6] Vir Vinod, Vol. II. p. 269-271.

[7] MS. Raj Prakash by Kishore Das, F. 26. V. 25.

'मेवाड़ चैनस मंडिया'

[8] Iqbalnama, (Persian Text), Vol. III. pp. 543, 553.

In order to end the stalemate, Khurram expressed his humble submission through his trusted agent at the court, but all in vain. It was taken as an infliction of indignity. Finding, therefore, no other recourse than to rebel, he raised the standard of revolt. He first of all marched towards Agra and plundered it. Next he marched further north, but was defeated at Bilochpur (March, 1623). Then he had to retreat to Mandu.[10]

Mewar lay on his way. Probably to get help or to seek shelter he approached Rana Karan Singh[11] with whom his relations were so intimate. It is a strange act of destiny that the prince who had encamped once at Udaipur with all the dignity and resources of an

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[9] Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV. pp. 170-171.

[10] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (Persian Text), pp. 348, 352, 357.
R. B. Tuzuk, Vol. II. p. 258.
MS. Kambu : Amal-i-Salih, (Persian Text), Vol. I. p. 172.
Lahauri : Badshahnama, (Per. Text), Vol. I. pp. 160, 163, 164.
Beni Prasad : Jahangir, pp. 259-60.

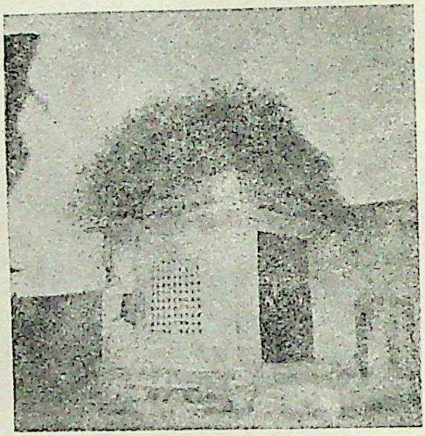
[11] Raj Prashasti Mahakavya, Canto 5, V. 13.
MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 49 (b).

"दिल्लीश्वर जहांगीरात्तस्य खुर्रम नामकम्
पुत्रं विमुखतां प्राप्तं स्थापयित्वा निजक्षितौ"
"खुर्रम नामकं विमुखतां यातं जहांगीर ततस्त
द्वीरे विजितं पलायत (न) परं स्थापयामास सः"

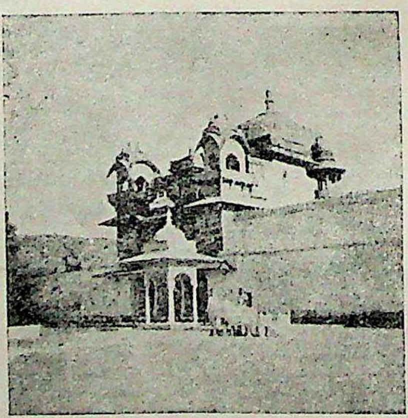
MS. Vanshavali, F. 76 (a) No. 878.
MS. Raj Prakash by Kishore Das, VV. 25-27.

असुरांतणौ अभागि सो जगि भागि
जुवांणा रांणै आसंगी आ रहै……,

MS. Marwar ki Khyat, p. 2498.



Khurram's Prayer palace at Jagamandir now called Kapuriya Baba.



Khurram's palace at Jagamandir

imperial conqueror, was seeking shelter in the same city against the imperial wrath.

The Rana must have been in a dilemma. To refuse to give shelter to a fugitive was against the rules of hospitality. On the other hand, if he gave protection to Shah Jahan who was a rebel against the Mughal throne, it would have amounted to an act of hostility against the emperor. But the Rana chose the former course, probably because he felt that Jahangir was old and invalid and was about to die, and that Shah Jahan who was the most capable among his sons was likely to succeed him as emperor. Whatever might have been the feelings of Rana, he accorded a friendly welcome[12] to the fugitive prince and lodged him first in Delwara House and then in one of his water-palaces, Jagamandir, in Pichhola lake.[13] And though he refused to give the prince any open help which might lead to a war against Jahangir, he kept him safe and concealed his whereabouts from his enemies.[14] The guest appears to have enjoyed a calm and undisturbed life for about four months[15] and had the leisure to design in miniature form a sumptuous edifice with a lofty dome for his residence, the grand model of which was afterwards crystalised in the glorious Taj Mahal in the dear remembrance of his loving consort.[16]

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[12] MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, F. 110.
Vir Vinod, Vol. II. p. 270.

[13] MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 49 (b).

'मुक्ताहार महार्हभूषण गणै: श्रीकर्णसिंहोर्चितः'

[14] MS. Raj Prakash by Kishore Das, Nishani 27.

'कसीआ केकाणा साह् सलेम विचारिआ
पेषे असुराणा बल लगे नह् करणसो
षल हेल षुमाणा छोड़े कस जहांगीर
साह् रस कीधा राणा'

[15] The account of Khurram's activity for some months of H. 1034 from half of March to half of August 1623 is not available in any of the contemporary writings. It may safely be conjectured that these four months were spent at Udaipur.

Having passed some time at Udaipur, Khurram left Mewar for Mandu and then for the Deccan. Throughout this period of calamity and conflict he was ably helped by Bhim, the younger brother of Rana Karan who after the treaty of Mewar lived at the Mughal court at the head of the Mewar contingent. His soldierly talent and bearings had pleased the emperor who had given him the title of Raja Merta in Jagir. It seems that sometime before the opening of the rebellion of Khurram his services were transferred to him. He joined the prince with 500 horse at Nasik. It was Bhim who by the capture of Patna secured Bihar for Khurram. But at the battle of Damdama (1624), near the river Tons the rebels were defeated and Bhim fell fighting like a warrior against the forces of prince Parviz and Mahabat Khan. Deprived of powerful Rajput support and hunted down from place to place Khurram besought his father' s pardon and crest-fallen and dejected chose a life of retirement at Balaghat.[17]

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[16] MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, F. 110. (b).
MS. Jagavilas, V. 8, F. 2 (b).
'साहजहां सरणे रहे तिन कीन्नी यह ठाम'
Vir Vinod, Vol. II p. 272.

[17] Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, (Persian Text), pp. 357, 368, 378, 381, 382, 384, 385, 388, 389.
Iqbalnama, (Per. Text), Vol. III. pp. 591-594.
MS. Kambu: Amal-i-Salih, Vol. I. pp. 105, 110, 113.
Tatimma-i-Wakiat-i-Jahangiri, Elliot, Vol. VI. p. 394.
MS. Nensi's Khayat, F. 9 (a).
Dhaya ka Devra Inscription, V. 6.
Maasir-i-Jahangiri, Elliot, VI. p. 444.

With the death of Jahangir (October, 28, 1627 A.D.) came to a close the stormy days of Khurram's life. He left the Deccan to realise the long-cherished dream of succession to his ancestral throne. En-route for Agra he passed through Mewar, where a poper reception was accorded to him at Gogunda on 1st January, 1628 A.D. Here the Rana saluted the prince as emperor and offered him a Nazar and a sword in token of that recognition. Here, too, the weighing ceremony of the emperor designate's 38th birthday was performed. After the reception the Rana despatched his brother Arjun at the head of a contingent of troops to accompany the prince to Agra.[18]

Thus for the first time of its history Mewar took a keen interest in the internal affairs of the Mughal court. During this period Mewar and the Mughals were on terms of exceptional cordiality, and the personal friendship of the rulers of these powers contributed to the maintenance of good understanding between the two races. But Karan was not destined to enjoy the dignified status for a long time. He died in March, 1628 A. D., within two months of succession of Khurram as Shah Jahan. He was succeeded by his son Jagat Singh.

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[18] Iqbalnama, (Per. Text), Vol. III. p. 598.

MS. Kambu: Amal-i-Salih, Vol. I. pp. 163-165.

Maasir-i-Jahangiri, (Journal of Indian History), Vol. II. 1922-23. p. 17.

MS. Sisod Vanshavali, F. 29 (b); MS. Amarkavya Vanshavali, F. 49 (b).

'कृत्वा खुराम नामकं विरचयन्
सत् खडग बंधं त्तमम्
त्तं दिल्लीशं कृतवान् तेन नितरां
सम्मानत्तो भूपतिः'
"स्वयोतै यवनेश्वरो सविनयम्
भ्रात्रार्जुने नान्वित्तम्"

Raj Prashasti, Canto 5th, V. 14.

With the accession of Jagat Singh (1628 A. D.)[19] the cordiality between the ruling family of Mewar and that of Delhi suffered a set-back. Jagat Singh was an ambitious prince who seemed to have believed in turning favourable opportunities to his advantage. Finding Shah Jahan occupied in the internal affairs of his empire and in the suppression of the rebellion of Jujhar Singh Bundela (1628) he began interfering in the affairs of the neighbouring Rajput states. Jaswant Singh, the ruler of Devliya (Pratapgarh) who had been under the nominal suzerainty of Mewar began to intrigue against the Rana by instigating the governor of Mandsor to attack his territory. The Rana called Jaswant Singh to Udaipur. When the latter and his son Maha Singh came to Udaipur, they were killed in a scuffle with the Rana's men. Hari Singh, the younger son of Jaswant Singh reported the matter to the emperor who conferred Devliya upon Hari Singh and disaffiliated it from Mewar. The Rana was not satisfied with this arrangement and sent a Rajput party under Ram Singh in 1628 A. D. to plunder the city of Devliya (Pratapgarh).[20] Having obtained partial success in Devliya the Rana determined to exert more effectively his influence over the neighbouring states of Dungarpur, Sirohi and Banswara on the plea that they had been once under the suzerainty of his house. He invested the supreme command to Akhai Raj to invade the town of Dungarpur in 1628. The Rajput commander was able to carry his arms through the town and brought immense wealth by plunder.[21] The success which attained this expedition emboldened the Rana to send his army to Sirohi. As a result of this expedition the capital town of Sirohi was ravaged and its neighbouring territory annexed to the Rana's territory.[22]

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[19] Jagannath Rai Inscription, Epig. Indica, Vol. XXIV records the formal ceremony of his accession on 28th April, 1628 A.D.

[20] Raj Prashasti Mahakavya, Canto V, VV. 20-21.

[21] Raj Prashasti Mahakavya, Canto V, VV. 18-19. Jagannath Rai Inscription, Verse 54.

Next the Rana despatched Bhag Chand,[23] his Minister on an expedition against Banswara. The general reduced the state to utmost straits and carried death and destruction in that country for six months. Driven to extremities Samar Singh of Banswara hastened to the feet of the Rana, begged his forgiveness, accepted the humiliating condition of recognising his suzerainty and offered a sum of rupees two lakhs as tribute.[24]

These activities of Jagat Singh displeased the emperor. But the Rana in order to appease Shah Jahan's wrath sent to Agra in 1633 A. D. Jhala Kalyan of Delwada with a present of an elephant and written request for pardon. The emperor sent him back after sometime with a robe of honour and a horse for Kalyan and a costly robe of honour, two horses with gold and silver trappings, an elephant and a necklace for the Rana.[25] He also despatched with Bhopat Ram of Dharyavad a contingent[26] to the Deccan and sent Jhala

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MS. Raj Ratnakar, V. 7. F. 42 (b).

'वैशाषे निजसेन गिरिपुरं प्राधूंसयत् भूमिपः'

MS. Raj Prakash by Kishore Das, V. 30.

[22] Raj Prashasti Mahakavya, Canto 5, V. 25.

'अत्तेराजं सिरोहीशं वश्यं चक्रे ग्रहीद् भुवम्'

[23] He was a Bhatnagar Kayastha, grandson of Sada Rang. The Rana conferred upon him ten villages, ten horses etc. at the time he was deputed on his duty. (Vide Bedvas Inscription).

[24] Bedvas Prashasti; Raj Prashasti Mahakavya, Canto V, VV. 27-28; Raj Prakash by Kishore Das, V. 45.

[25] Lahauri : Badshahnama, (Per. Text), Vol. II. p. 8.

[26] Lahauri: Badshahnama, (Per. Text), Vol. III. pp. 370-371.

Kalyan to Mandu with words of congratulation to the emperor on his victory in the Deccan.[27] In order to divert the emperor's attention Jagat Singh continued following the policy of sending assistance to the Mughals engaged in war in Deccan and exchanging presents and congratulations on important occasions.

In the year 1643 A. D. Shah Jahan with the intention of proceeding against the Rana came on a pilgrimage to Ajmer. The Rana sent Kunwar Raj Singh with presents to wait upon the emperor. The prince was greeted with honour at Jogi-ka-Talab, near Ajmer.[28] According to Badshahnama and Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Chaghtai[29] the forces actually reached Chitor but the Rana by sending presents averted the danger.

On the whole the Rana maintained a kind of balance between his personal ambitions and the suzerainty of Delhi by asserting his authority, whenever the emperor's attention was occupied elsewhere and offering submission when the imperial weight seemed to be dangerous. This policy of the Rana has been brieffy summarized by his poet Raghunath[30] in the words that Jagat Singh always entered into friendly alliance with a powerful enemy and subdued his weak foes.

However, a greater part of Jagat Singh's reign passed in uninterrupted tranquillity. He devoted his time to the cultivation of the peaceful arts, especially architecture. The water palaces in the Pichhola lake like Jagniwas, Jagmandir and Mohan Mandir are mostly among his notable construction[31]. The Jagadish temple, the biggest temple of the state, was built by him and completed by the year 1652 A. D..[32] The Rana made his name by his acts of charity,[33] granting of land,[34] founding of inns[35] and performing religious rituals of high order.[36] His patronizing of learned men[37] served the cause of education. He took steps in the direction of dispensing with equal justice according to the Hindu Shastras.[38] His policy of the realization of state demand was based on the principles laid down in Dharm Shastras.[39]

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[27] Munshi Devi Prasad : Shajahannama, Vol. I. p. 194.

[28] Lahauri : Badshahnama, (Per. Text), Vol. III. p: 345.
MS. Shah Jahannama, Zahid Khan, p. 162.

[29] Badshahnama of Inayat Khan, Elliot VII. p. 103.
MS. Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Chaghtai, (S. B. L.), Vol. II. F. 42.

[30] MS. Jagat Singh Kavya, Canto 7, V. 4.
'बलवानपि शक्तेन नृपः संधिं विधायसः'

The relation between the Mughal India and Mewar appears to have been so harmonious that the Rana found leisure and freedom to build large number of temples outside his dominion[40] and proceed on a pilgrimage to Onkareshwar in V. S. 1704.[41] His mother, Jambuvati also performed a holy pilgrimage to Dwarka, Mathura and Prayag,[42] the first instance of its kind when a royal lady could travel in the Mughal territory without fear. The idea of war had appeared to have been so distant that Jagat Singh issued a general order[43] to his officers in which he exempted forced labour and all kinds of military contribution that the villages had to make to the state.

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[31] Raj Prashasti, Canto 5,V.26; Jagannath Rai Inscription, Slab 2, V. 34.

[32] Jagannath Rai Inscription, Colophon.

[33] MS. Jagat Singh Kavya, Canto 3. V. 5.

'भवदेवदान विनोदैं र्दिशिदिशि देवेश राजंते'

[34] Copper -plate grants in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur recently discovered in large number prove the fact. They are :—No. 410, 477, 683, Photo Album of S. 1684-1707 etc.

[35] MS. Jagat Singhastakam by Mohan Bhatt, V. 7.

'प्रथम धन प्रवाहै कार्य धर्मशाला'

[36] Raj Prashasti, Canto 5, VV. 37-38.

[37] Madhu Sudan, Mohan Bhatt, Raghunath etc. were his contemporaries.

[38] MS. Jagat Singh Kavya, Canto 7, V. 48.

'दंड्येषु दंड वितरन् यथावत् पराशर प्रोक्त मतानुसारी'

[39] MS. Jagat Singh Kavya, Canto 7, V. 51.

'प्रोक्तः पुराणेषु नरेश्वराणां यत्कोश संवर्धनमेव धर्मः'

[40] Adinath temple of Narlai, Jodhpur of V. S. 1686.
Adinath temple of Nadol in Jodhpur of V. S. 1686.

During the last part of his reign he had the proud satisfaction to repair[44] the ruins of Chitor, an act of breach of faith which induced Shah Jahan to invade Mewar during the reign of his successor. Jagat Singh died in October, 1652 A.D.

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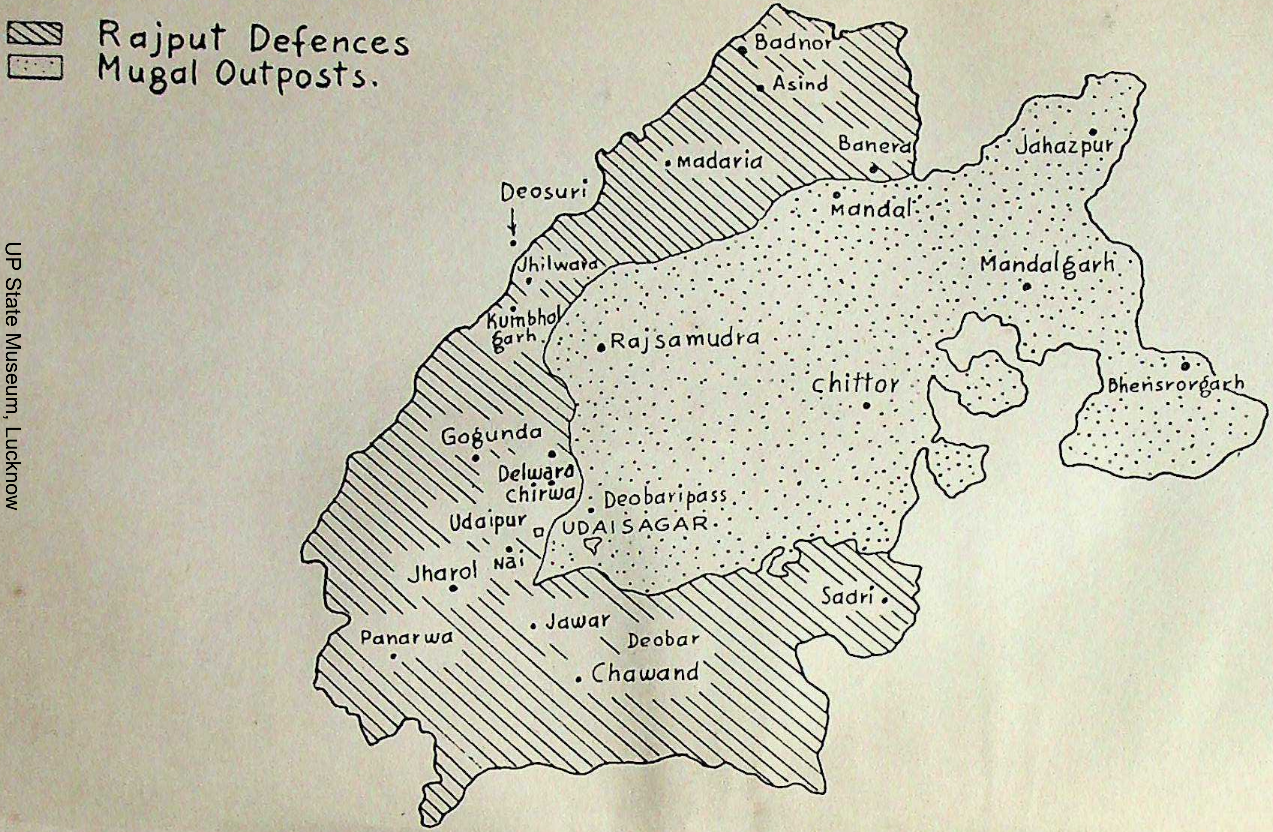
41. Onkareshwar Inscription; Jagannath Rai Inscription, Slab. I, VV. 63-84.
42. Copper-plate No. 477, dated 4th of the dark-half of Bhadrapada, V. S. 1709, in the Commissioner's Office records her pilgrimage to Prayag.

    MS. Jagat Singh Kavya of Raghunath, Canto 3, V. 22 refers her pilgrimage to Dwarka, Gokul and Mathura.
43. Photograph of a Patta No. 26/240, Misal, S. 95, in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur, dated the 15th of the bright-half of Magh, V. S. 1707.
44. Jagannath Rai Inscription, V. 51.

    Khulasa-i-Shah Jahannama : Zahid Khan, p. 239.

Mewar in 1679 A.D.


▨ Rajput Defences
⬚ Mugal Outposts.
Badnor
Asind
Banera
Madaria
Jahazpur
Deosuri
Mandal
Mandalgarh
Jhilwara
Kumbhal Garh
Rajsamudra
Chittor
Bhensrorgarh
Gogunda
Delwara
Chirwa
Deobaripass
Udaipur
UDAISAGAR
Jharol
Nai
Sadri
Jawar
Deobar
Panarwa
Chawand

## CHAPTER VIII

# RAJ SINGH[1] AND THE MUGHALS ; REACTION AND WAR

## (1652-1707 A. D.)

Raj Singh succeeded to the throne on 10th October, 1652 A.D. with plan[2] to raise the status of Mewar. His character and confidence were worthy of men destined to leave an impression on many succeeding ages.[3] To begin with, he, in pursuance of his father's policy hastened to complete the repairs of the walls of Chitor[4] so as to put it in proper defensive position. He gave shelter and protection to Garib Das, a fugitive prince[5] of his, house who had come away from court of Shah Jahan where he had held a mansab, without permission, and appointed him his chief adviser.

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[1] He reigned from 10th October, 1652 A. D. to 22nd October, 1680 A. D.

[2] MS. Raj Ratnakar, Canto 10th, V. 11.

'सामाद्युपायार्जित चित्तयुक्तो'

[3] MS. Raj Sinhastaka by Mukand, V. 6.

'चरित्रं चिरकीर्तिं चित्रं पवित्रम्'

MS. Raj Prakash of Kishore Das, F. 43. V. 72.

'उजला हुआ हिंदु सकल मेछा अणमेला समुष सिरताज आज
संसार सिरि राणा'

[4] MS. Khulasa-i-Shah Jahannama, (S. B. L.), of Zahid Khan, p. 239.

Inayat Khan : Shah Jahannama, Elliot, VII. p. 103.

[5] MS. Khulasa-i-Shah Jahannama, (S. B. L.), of Zahid Khan, p. 230.

These activities of the Rana could not be tolerated by the emperor. He decided to take steps against the Rana and left for Ajmer on 24th. September, 1654 A.D. with a view to personally supervise the operations conducted in Mewar. From Ajmer Sadullah Khan was despatched with 30,000 troops towards Chitor with instructions to demolish the repairs of the fort which were made against the terms of the treaty. The Wazir was also instructed to overrun the Rana's territory and inflict suitable chastisement on him in case the Rana did not tender his submission.[6]

The imperial general accompanied by several nobles and mansabdars reached Chitor on the 5th of Zilhijja devastating cattle and crop all along in the territory of the Rana.[7] The Rana contemplating no regular offensive sent Madhu Sudan Bhatt and Ram Singh Jhala to wait on the Wazir and dissuade him from his destructive designs. When the Wazir and the Rana's men met there ensued a discussion between the parties regarding the strength of their respective sides.[8] This interview instead of simplifying the affair complicated it very seriously. The furious Sadullah Khan ordered his men to pull down the walls of Chitor. Whereupon a large number of workers, with

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Muntakhab-ul-Luhab, (Per. Text), Vol. I. p. 728.

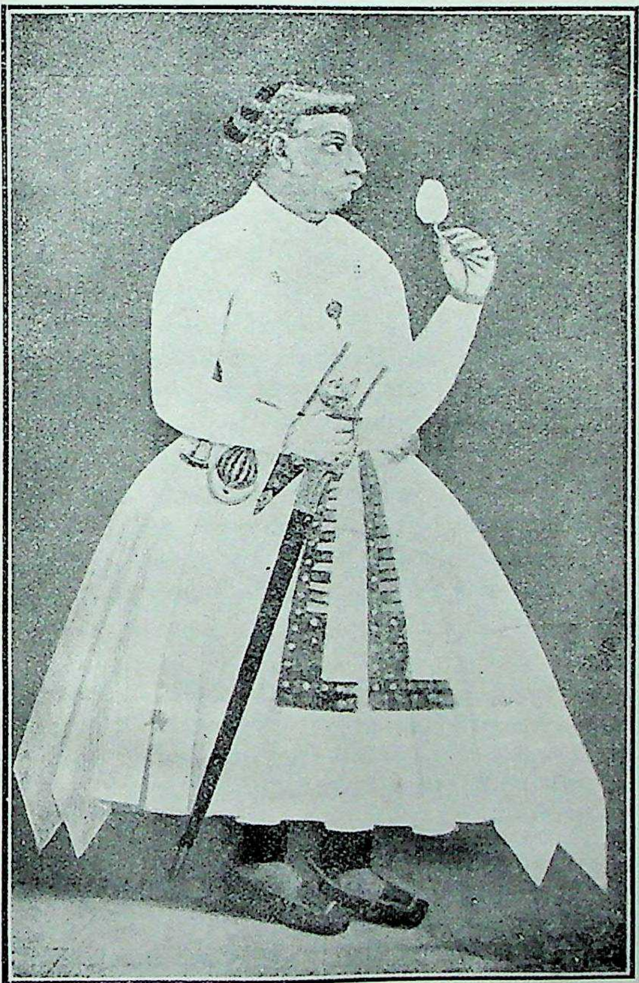
[6] MS. Khulasa-i-Shah Jahannama, (S. B. L.), of Zahid Khan, p. 239.

Inayat Khan : Shah Jahannama, Elliot, Vol. VII. p. 103.

Raj Prashasti, Canto 6, VV. 11-12.

[7] MS. Khulasa-i-Shah Jahannama, (S. B. L.), of Zahid Khan, p. 239; Inayat Khan : Shah Jahannama, Elliot, Vol. VII. p. 103.

[8] Raj Prashasti Mahakavya, Canto 6, VV. 13-21; Rajput source further adds that Sadullah Khan blamed the Rana for giving protection to Garib Das, to which the Rana's men replied that for a daring Rajput there was no difference in the court of Delhi and that of Udaipur. This probably made the Wazir furious.



Rana Raj Singh

pick-axes and spades overthrew and undid the repairs and demolished the battlements. Leaving the fort in ruins Sadullah Khan returned to Ajmer.[9]

In the meantime the Rana who knew when to wait and when to give way sent word through his physician, Govind to prince Dara to secure pardon for his acts from the emperor.[10] Abdul Karim and Munshi Chandra Bhan were sent to Mewar to negotiate a settlement. A cordial reception was given to them. They made a settlement with the Rana who promised to send his son to the court and give up repairing the fort. The Rana had also to hand over the border territory of Mewar to the Mughal officers. Then along with Abdul Karim, the emperor's representative, were sent the prince and Rao Ram Chandra of Bedla to the emperor in Nov. 1654 A. D. The prince on reaching the camp of the emperor at Malpura was duly honoured by the name of Sobhagya Singh. Then he was ordered to leave after six days with rich rewards of a 'Sarpech' of pearls and 'Balaband'. Ram Chandra and other nobles were given horses and robes of honour.[11]

The renewed submission was painful to the Rana's sense of honour who is said to have pledged that as long as he did not take revenge himself on the emperor he would not feel his existence justified.[12] He

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9. MS. Khulasa-i-Shah Jahannama, p. 240; Inayat Khan : Shah Jahannama, Elliot, Vol. VIII. p. 103.

10. MS. Raj Ratnakar, Canto 10, VV. 7-9.

11. MS. Insha-i-Chandra Bhan, FF. 3-14, 14-15, 15-18 and 18-19.
MS. Khulasa-i-Shah Jahannama, (S. B. L.), of Zahid Khan, p. 240.
Inayat Khan : Shah Jahannama, Vol. VII. p. 104.
Raj Prashasti, Canto 6, VV. 22-26.

12. MS. Raj Ratnakar, Canto 10, V. 10.
'यावन्न कुर्यान् प्रतिकर्म शत्रो तावन्न चान्तर्वपुषस्तु जातं'

began to look patiently for a suitable opportunity. Very soon the opportune moment came when Shah Jahan fell ill in Sept. 1657. It was a signal for war among his four sons, each one of whom was already hatching plans to seize the throne for himself. The entire energy of the central government headed by Dara was utilised to thwart the plans of his three brothers, Shuja, Murad and Aurangzib.[13]

At this juncture Aurangzib, the cleverest of all his brothers began his correspondence with Rana Raj Singh and sought to establish cordial relations with the Rana by means of exchange of presents and rewards. This correspondence throws a flood of light on Aurangzib's design to seize the throne by seeking Rajput assistance from Mewar. It also shows the attitude of Raj Singh towards the war of succession. In one of the letters,[14] which he (Aurangzib) wrote about Feb. 1658 A. D. when he was about to proceed towards the north, that he expected the arrival of Mewar contingent under Udai Karan Chauhan and Shankar. He sought the Maharana's goodwill towards the Mughals. In another letter[15] he insisted on the Rana's reply for his message which he had sent with one of his trusted officers. He also sent a robe of honour and jewelled ring for the Rana. In the next letter[16] of about March Aurangzib again requested for a Rajput contingent. He showed sympathy to the Rana's demand for the border territories of which Mewar had been deprived by the treaty. In the fourth letter[17] which he wrote about the end of March, 1658 A. D. he requested that the Mewar crown prince should be sent to join him on the other banks of the river Narbada.

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[13] Raj Ratnakar, Canto 10, VV. 13-14.

[14] Letter of the confidential office of the Maharana Udaipur, published in Vir Vinod, Vol. II. pp. 415-416.

[15] Letter of the confidential office, Udaipur, (Vir Vinod, Vol. II. p. 416).

[16] Letter of the confidential office of Udaipur, (Vir Vinod, Vol. II. pp. 417-421.)

[17] Letter in the confidential office of the Maharana of Udaipur, (Vir Vinod, Vol. II. pp. 421-423).

These letters clearly show that Aurangzib wanted to secure Raj Singh's support while Dara had Jaipur and Jodhpur on his side. Raj Singh, it appears did not give any help to Aurangzib directly, but kept him in good humour by sending envoys without definitely promising him any assistance. He wanted to grind his own axe if Aurangzib would become the emperor by requesting the restoration of Pur, Mandal, Badnor etc., the border land of Mewar which was in the Mughal possession.

In April, 1658 Aurangzib wrote[18] to Raj Singh informing him about his successfully advancing beyond the river Narbada and demanded that the Rana's prince should be sent to join without any further delay. A great trial of strength was expected. Dara was to go to meet the enemy with all his strength and Aurangzib was preparing to fight the imperial forces. But Raj Singh was in doubt about the issue of the contest among the Mughal princes; hence instead of agreeing to commit himself and joining Aurangzib at this stage, he tried to seize the border parganas of Mewar which were in Mughal hands. Under the veil of conducting the ceremony of 'Tikadar', a hunting expedition in the enemies' land, he marched with all speed and strength on 2nd May, 1658 A. D. against the Mughal outposts.[19] Dariba was the first place which received the Rana's successful blow. Mandal was the next target which yielded Rs. 22,000. He further marched against Banera

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18. Aurangzib's letter to the Rana, Vir Vinod, Vol. II. pp. 423-425.

19. MS. Raj Vilas of Man Kavi, Canto 6, V. I.

'सजिसेन राणश्री राजसीह असुरेशधरा रुद्धन अषीह'

MS. Raj Prakash of Kishore Das, V. 92.

and Shahpura. This expedition also yielded Rs. 48,000. Then fell Kharvad, Jahazpur, Sawar and Phuliya.[20] When the Rana's camp was at Kekri[21], in Ajmer Merwara, he received a letter from Dara who requested Raj Singh's help against Aurangzib. This was perhaps at the end of the month of June when Aurangzib defeated the imperial army at Fathabad. Raj Singh who was confident of Aurangzib's victory and followed the policy of worshipping the rising sun sent back the envoy with the message that for him all the sons of Shah Jahan were alike and that he wished long life to the emperor. Then sending his minister Fateh Chand Kayastha against Toda he turned towards Malpura which he looted for nine days.[22] Tonk, Chatsu and Lalsot were also plundered.[23] While encamped on the bank of Banas he heard of the victory of Aurangzib at Samogarh and so reverted back to his capital by the end of June and sent his son Sobhagya Singh (Sultan Singh) and his brother Ari Singh with presents and congratulations for the victorious emperor.[24]

In the meantime the war of sucecssion had ended in the victory of Aurangzib on July 21, 1658 A. D.

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[20] MS. Raj Prakash, VV. 25-28.

[21] MS. Raj Ratnakar, Canto 10, VV. 20-26.

[22] Raj Prashasti Mahakavya, Canto 7, VV. 29-36.
MS. Raj Prakash by Kishore Das, VV. 92-110.
Deobari Inscription, V. 24.

'दग्धं मालपुराभिख्यं नगरं व्यतनोदिह ।
दिनानां नवकं स्थित्वा लुंटनं समकारयत्'

[23] Raj Prashasti Mahakavya, Canto 7. 36-42.

[24] Alamgirnama, (P. T.), pp. 166-167.
MS. Khulasa-i-Shah Jahannama, (S. B. L.), of Zahid Khan, p. 240.
Raj Prashasti Mahakavya, Canto 8. VV. 1-3.
Raj Ratnakar, Canto 10, VV, 49-53.

The greeting party met the emperor at Salimpur when Aurangzib was in pursuit of Dara. Mutual gifts were exchanged and a farman was issued on the name of the Rana entitling him to hold the parganas of Gayaspur, Dungarpur, Banswara etc. yielding two crores of Dam. The Rana's status was also raised to six thousand 'zat' and six thousand 'sawar.[25] Dara who was closely pursued by Aurangzib's forces in the Punjab and Gujarat reached Sirohi. He sent another letter[26] to Raj Singh, dated 15th January, 1659 requesting help and praising his generosity. The Rana who was already in alliance now with Aurangzib paid no heed to the letter. In order to establish his authority over the lost provinces by the right of farman referred to above, he sent his forces against Banswara, Devliya and Dungarpur. The rulers of the states recognised his sovereignty.[27]

In the year 1660 A. D. the Rana took a bold step in helping Charumati[28] of Rupnagar who, with her characteristic pride, had spurned the proposal[29] of marriage with Aurangzib. As the crisis became more pressing, the princess finding in Raj Singh the solace of her hope, wrote an urgent letter[30] appealing to the chivalrous Rana to hasten to her help. As the letter breathed in every line the warm breath of affection and depicted the piteous feelings of a Hindu girl anxious to save herself from an alliance with a non-Hindu, the request could not be rejected. He hastened to Kishangarh, married her and brought her to Mewar.[31]

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[25] Alamgirnama, (Per. Text.), p. 194.
Aurangzib's Farman, Vir Vinod, Vol. II. pp. 425-432.
Nensi's Khyat, pp. 76, 77; (Nagari Pracharini).

[26] Dara's letter, Vir Vinod, Vol. II. pp. 432-433.

[27] Raj Prashasti Mahakavya, Canto 8, VV. 9-11; 16-25. Bedvas Inscription.

[28] She is also known as Rupmati.

[29] It appears from the MS. Sisod Vanshavali, F. 31 (a) and 32 (b) that Charumati's betrothal was arranged by her father without her knowledge. One of her sisters informed her about the betrothal.

Deobari Inscription VV. 25-26 also states that Rup Singh the father of Charumati promised to give the hand of her daughter to Aurangzib.

[30] In Raj Vilas, Canto 7, VV. 31-35 the text of the letter runs as follows:—

Probably this marriage was not liked by Aurangzib who must have felt the union of Kishangarh and Udaipur dangerous to his power. The Rana was ordered by the emperor to explain the cause of his marriage. He sent a letter with Udai Karan Chauhan stating that such marriages were quite common and he had no motive to damage the Mughal interest. In this letter he also requested the emperor to give him back the parganas of Bhusawar and Gayaspur, which were taken back from him. For what reason they were taken back one does not know for want of definite evidende. It appears that the emperor did not take notice of the matter seriously and cordial[33] relations continued as the frequent visits of Kunwar Lal Singh and exchange of presents show.[34]

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"चत्रकोट धणी अब तू पुरवै हरि ज्यौं सुर खंभनि लाज रखी
अबलायो रहुं आस मुखी वक हंसनि क्यों घर वास करै
न रहे पुनि कोकिल कागर से सस सिंहनि ज्यों मन देखि सहै
नर नायक तो सम और नहीं सरणागत वत्सल तू ज सही
प्रभु कै सुलभि तुहि पाय परै कर जोरि इति अरदास करै।"

31. Raj Prashasti, Canto 8. VV. 22-30.
Raj Vilas, Canto 7.
MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, F. III (a).
MS. Sisod Vanshavali, FF. 31, 32 (a) (b).

32. Rana's letter to Aurangzib, Vir Vinod, II. pp. 440-442.

33. It is wrong to deduce, which has been done by casual observers, that Charumati's marriage became a cause of the war between Aurangzib and Raj Singh which in fact came long afterwards due to some other reasons.

34. Alamgirnama, (Per. Text), pp. 341, 434, 454, 564, 565.

By the establishment of goodwill between the Mughals and the Sisodias, Raj Singh had a free hand to devote himself solely to the internal affairs of his state. He granted lands[35] in the years 1658-1675 A.D. specially in the border areas which were disturbed during his early expeditions. In 1662 A.D. the Minas of southern part of Mewar, who rose in rebellion, were subdued and law and order was established there.[36] Sometime in 1667 A.D. their leader Pitha was given a village Jadoli (District Sahara) in order to develop good sense among the Bhils.[37] He rewarded Kesri Singh and Ratan Singh by the grant of Jagirs of Parsoli and Salumber respectively for their loyal services during the recent expeditions.[38] Partly for the sake of relieving the famine-stricken people and partly to facilitate agriculture and mainly perhaps for spreading his name far and wide like the ancient Chakravarti rulers, he began excavating an extensive lake near Rajnagar in 1662 and named it Raj Samudra. The opening ceremony of the lake was performed on the 14th January 1676 with utmost pomp and distribution of gold, silver and jewels to the Brahmins. To the neighbouring states of Jodhpur, Jaipur, Bikaner, Jaisalmer, Dungarpur, Rewa etc. an elephant and two horses each were sent. The palace of Sarva Ritu Vilas and the Rana Sagar lake were constructed at Udaipur about

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[35] A copper-plate inscription No. 419 recently discovered in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur dated 9th of the dark-half of Asad, V. S. 1729 (1662 A. D.) records the grant of Bhavali in Mandal District to Bhan.

Photograph No. 26/10 B Jagir of the same office records the grant of village Kalyan in Jahazpur in the year V. S. 1715. (1658 A. D.).

[36] Raj Prashasti, Canto 8, VV. 31-33.

[37] No. 94, Jagir S. 91 in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur recently discovered.

[38] Vir Vinod, Vol. II. pp. 453-454.

1668 A. D.[39] The inauguration ceremony of the Raj Samudra lake was attended by 46,000 people from outside, and the construction work, leaving aside expenditure on ceremonials and charities, amounted to one and a half crore of rupees.[40]

While Raj Singh was busy with erecting works of public utility, Aurangzib was engaged in measures calculated to the propagation of Islam. After his grand Coronation (June 1659), he issued a number of ordinances to enforce Islamic rule of conduct in his dominions. In the 11th year of his reign (1668) he forbade music at his court and banished singers and musicians. On 9th April, 1669 he issued a general order to demolish temples and destroy schools and idols of the infidels.[41] It is pointed out by Ojha[42] that Raj Singh took up the cause of Hindus and defied the orders of Aurangzib at this stage. This view seems to be erroneous. While the above series of laws and ordinances were passed at the Mughal court, Raj Singh was not stirred in the least. He continued sending regular embassies to the Mughal court[43] and remained busy with his internal affairs, constructing lakes, palaces, observing religious rites and sending presents to important rulers of Rajasthan who were vassals of Aurangzib. There is no evidence to show that he protested against the Islamic legislation of the emperor. Nor did the imperial regulations create any kind of enmity between the Rana and Aurangzib. According to Raj Ratnakar, F. 131 (a) Kunwar Ari Singh went to offer Shradh to Gaya without being molested which goes to prove that there were cordial relations existing between the Mughals and the Rajputs in 1676 A. D. The disaffection and war came after ten long years.

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[39] Raj Vilas, Canto 8th, F. 102 (a)—111 (b).
Raj Ratnakar, Canto 22.

[40] Raj Prashasti, Cantos, 8 (46-50), 9 (V.21-30), 12 (VV. 9-36), 14 (VV. 13, 22-27, 37), 17 (V.9), 18 (1-15), 19 (27), 20 (48-49), 21 (V. 22).

[41] Sarkar : Aurangzib, Vol. III. pp. 265-266.

[42] Ojha : Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas, Vol. II. p. 547.

[43] Ram Singh and Madho Singh went to the court and received honour and robe of honour for the Rana was sent. (Vide Alamgirnama, Per. Text, pp. 661-767.)

Aurangzib reimposed the Jaziya[44] on the Hindus on the 2nd April, 1679 A. D. This act was no doubt protested against by the Hindu citizens of Delhi and its environs, but it had little effect on the relation of the Rana with the emperor. After that day the Rana sent Jai Singh with Indra Singh Jhala of Sadri and Garibdas, the chief priest of the Rana, to the imperial court. They were well-received by Aurangzib and were sent back with robes of honour for them and a necklace, an elephant, a horse and robe of honour and a farman for the Rana on the 30th April, 1679 A. D. The prince with his party reached Udaipur on the 26th May, 1679 A.D. after visiting the holy places of Brindavan and Mathura.[45] Thus to ascribe the war between Raj Singh and Aurangzib to the reimposition of Jaziya by the latter is entirely incorrect. Raj Singh was not so unwise as to provoke hostility of the mighty Aurangzib without adequate personal reasons.

Tradition says that the Rana sent a letter of protest to the emperor against the reimposition of Jaziya on the Hindus. Three copies of this letter have come down to us, one preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society, London; the second in the Bengal Royal Asiatic Society and the third in the Maharana's confidential office at Udaipur. Orme[46] ascribes the authorship of this letter to Jaswant Singh of Marwar, R. A. S. London MS. 71, to Shivaji and A. S. B. MS. 56 associates it to Shambhuji. Col. Tod[47] and Kaviraj Shyamal Das[48], however, were of the opinion that it was written by Rana Raj Singh. After examining various authorships Sir J. N. Sarkar[49] has reached the conclusion that on internal evidence and autobiographical details it appears that the letter was written by Shivaji and not Raj Singh. Examining closely the contents I feel that the letter referred to Raj Singh's authorship is a copy of the letter of Shivaji. The contents of the copy are like the brief notes of Shivaji's complete letter. The so-called Raj Singh's letter is an abridged copy of the original. A careful perusal of the letter will make the point clear. The style of the letter is much different in form from the usual style of the Rana's who used to write letters in their manner, had peculiar form of address and conclusion, giving the name of the writer and the addressee. But the letter in question does not bear any date and the name of the Rana by whose order it was written. Besides no contemporary Rajput sources of Raj Singh's time have given any reference to Jaziya or the so-called protest of the Rana against it. Had there been any such protest the local annalists who have given minute details of other events would not have left this unnoticed. I feel inclined to take this letter as an abridged copy of that of Shivaji to

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[44] Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (Per. Text), p. 174.
Muntakhab, (Per. Text), Vol. II. p. 255.
MS. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Vol. I. p. 466.
It appears that the motive of the emperor in introducing Jaziya was to attract Hindu subjects to embrace Islam in order to get easy exemption from Jaziya.

[45] Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (Per. Text), p. 175.
Raj Prashasti, Canto 22, VV. 1-9. ; Aurangzb's Farman in Confidential Office of the Maharana, Udaipur, (Vir Vinod, Vol. II. pp. 457-459.)

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[46] Orme's Fragments, p. 252; Notes XCIII FF.

[47] Tod : Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I. p. 442, N. 2.

[48] Vir Vinod, Vol. II. p. 462.

[49] Modern Review, January, 1908. pp. 21-23,

Aurangzib, who (Shivaji) had every reason to protest and who mentioned the event of his escape in the opening line.

It does not, however, mean that Raj Singh was inactive throughout this period. The acts of Aurangzib which were contemplated to overthrow Hinduism in India must have pricked him. He must have been aware of the risings of the Jats (1669), Satnamis (1672) and Sikhs (1675) and the Marathas which must have indicated him that one day or other Mewar would have to face the brunt of a Mughal invasion. Though he was not in a position to throw an open challenge to Aurangzib's authority—which would have been suicidal, he began to make preparation for the defence of the dominions. Thinking that it was of no use to repair the fort of Chitor he took up the defence of the interior of Mewar. Deobari, a pass just 10 miles east of Udaipur was closed with huge walls and a door-way in 1674 A. D.[50] Trusted warriors were stationed in the interior Girwa and grants of free-rent land were made to them. Two pattas[51] recently discovered in Commissioner's Office, Udaipur, dated 1677 A. D. record that Ram Singh and Bhima were given land in Sakrod and Ragheda (Girwa) respectively and were allowed to enjoy them free of rent. He took up the title of 'Vijayakatakatu' the victor of battles[52] which shows that he was preparing for war. The long contemplated war at last came in Nov. 1679 due to the narrow-minded policy of Aurangzib.

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[50] Raj Prashasti, Canto 8, VV. 26-28.

Deobari Inscription on the Door-way of 5th of the bright-half of Shrawan, V. S. 1731.

[51] Photographs of the Pattas No. 26/10 B Jagir A. S. 95 of Commissioner's Office of 15th of the bright-half of Jaistha, V. S. 1734 and 8th of dark-half of Kartika, V. S. 1734 respectively.

[52] The Patta of the same office dated 15th of the bright-half of Jaistha, V. S. 1734, (1677 A. D.).

Maharaja Jaswant Singh, who was in charge of the Mughal posts in Khaybar and Peshawar district, died at Jamrud on 10th December, 1678.[53] As soon as Aurangzib was informed of his death, he at once seized Marwar and placed it under direct Mughal rule. In order to overawe any possible Rathors' opposition, he himself moved towards Ajmer on 9th January, 1679 A.D. He directed the military operations, appointed Mughal officers like faujdar, qiladar etc. Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur was instructed to occupy the country, demolish temples and destroy whatever was good and useful there. By 2nd. April, 1679 Marwar was brought fully under the Mughal control and the emperor left Ajmer for Delhi. Sometimes after Marwar was temporarily given to Indra Singh Rathor in return of 30 lakhs of rupees.[54]

Why Aurangzib adopted such an attitude against a faithful servant of the Mughal empire is a serious question which demands our attention. As a staunch imperialist Aurangzib had no consideration for a friend or foe. One who had not spared his father and brothers would not spare any vassal if he was likely to prove harmful to the Mughal interest. Jaswant Singh had proved himself insubordinate and acted against Aurangzib more than once. His death gave the emperor an opportunity to revenge himself. He asked the deceased's family to come to Delhi. On the way, at Lahore, two posthumous sons were born to his two widows. One of them died and other named Ajit Singh came to Delhi with his mother in June and were lodged in Nurghar virtually as prisoners.[55] In

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53. Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (Per. Text), p. 171.
54. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, (Per. Text), Vol. II. p. 261.
    Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (Per. Text), pp. 175-176,
55. Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (Per. Text), p. 177,

vain the Rathor ministers pleaded before the emperor for Ajit Singh's recognition as an heir to his deceased father Jaswant Singh's state. Aurangzib not only rejected the request but made an attempt to convert the child to Islam.[56] Then the Rathors headed by Durgadas, the guiding genius of his race, contrived to adopt a plan of smuggling away the Rani and the infant Ajit to Marwar. Where persuations failed clever stratagem won and the widow and the son of Jaswant Singh were rescued from the Mughal guard and safely taken over to Marwar (23rd July)[57] and from here they were put in concealment at Sirohi.[58] When the escape of Ajit became known to the emperor he was much perturbed. It seemed as if his whole plan of the subjugation of Marwar could come to nothing. But Aurangzib declared a milkman's boy as Ajit and converted him to Islam and proclaimed Durgadas' ward as a false heir to Jaswant Singh.[59] But the reality was a reality. Under real Ajit and Durgadas the Rathors were rallying their strength to put a unanimous opposition to the Mughal power.[60]

Aurangzib would never sit idle. He despatched orders for the dismissal of Tahir Khan and Indra Singh who being on the spot failed to keep out Durgadas. A new commander, Sarbuland Khan was sent on 17th August, 1679 to reconquer the state and he himself left the capital and reached Ajmer on 25th September, 1679 to direct the expedition against Marwar more closely. The rapid advance of Muhammad Akbar, Tahavvur

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56. Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (Per. Text), pp. 176-177.

57. Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (Per. Text), p. 178.
Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, (Per. Text), Vol. II. p. 259.

58. Vishveshwar Nath Rew: Glories of Marwar, p. 36.

59. Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (P. T.), p. 178; Muntakhab, (P. T.), Vol. II. p. 260; Raj Vilas, F. 124 (b), 126 (b).

60. MS. Raj Vilas, F. 130 (b).

Khan and prince Akbar reduced Marwar to desolation and it was put under the direct control of the crown by Nov. 1679.[61]

Though Aurangzib had conquered Marwar, he was not able to conquer the Rathors nor to trace out Ajit Singh and the Rani. His victory was only a partial victory. The burning[62] of infants, ladies and corn-fields and the demolition of temples roused popular indignation against Aurangzib and the Rathors determined to die rather than suffer the humiliation of surrender. They secretly roused public hatred against the foreign government. They held a counsel and decided to seek the help of Mewar, and Durgadas wrote a letter to Raj Singh for immediate help.[63]

Rana Raj Singh was faced with a strange dilemma. On the one hand before his mind's eye there were several considerations. In the first place Ajit Singh's mother was his niece[64] and as a blood relative it was his duty to help her son at all cost ; in the second place it was natural that adversity and common interest should bring Rathors and Sisodias, the most powerful ruling houses, together against a common foe. On the other hand the borders of Mewar and Marwar were contiguous and the establishment of the Mughal authority in Marwar was likely to prove injurious to the interest of Mewar. Moreover it was feared that after subduing the Rathors Aurangzib would not spare the Sisodias and would not tolerate their independence. If a war between Mewar and Delhi was inevitable why not begin it in support of a just cause when the Rathors were appealing to the Rana's chivalry. So Raj Singh accepted the proposal of Durgadas. Ajit Singh with his family was secretly brought into Mewar under a Rathor escort.[65] The Rana assigned to him the Jagir of Kelwa and promised him help.[66]

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[61] Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (P. T.), p. 193.

'सकल राठौड भये इक मित्त'

[62] Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (P. T.), p. 193.

[63] Raj Vilas, F. 130-134 (b).

[64] The Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV. p. 248.

But before opening an offensive Aurangzib, who had entered into correspondence with the Rana, wrote three letters[67] in succession alleging the breach of faith on the part of the Rana in giving shelter to the Rathors. He mentioned with approval the Rana's past good behaviour, he threatened that he would demolish Chitor and carry fire and sword into his dominion. But the Rana who had decided on backing Ajit Singh could not be dissuaded in giving up his firm determination. He sent polite answers[68] but betrayed no fear of Aurangzib's power, for he was confident of the united strength of the Sisodias and the Rathors.

When the Rana could not be brought round, Aurangzib despatched Tahavvur Khan on 27th October, 1679 with instruction to occupy Mandal and the neighbouring parts of central Mewar. Hasan Ali Khan[69] was instructed to ravage Rana's country and clear the way for the progress of the imperial force. Prince Muazzam and prince Muhammad Azam were ordered to join the imperial forces with their contingent from the Deccan and Bengal respectively. Orders were despatched to Muhammad Amir Khan, Subedar of

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[65] Raj Vilas, F. 136 (a).

[66] Raj Vilas, Canto 9, VV. 200-206, F. 136 (b).

[67] Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, (Per. Text), p. 261.
Raj Vilas, Canto 10, VV. 1-22. F. 137-140.

[68] Raj Vilas, Canto 10, VV. 1-22. F. 137-140.

[69] He was the governor of Ratanpur. There were few officers of his time who were equal to him in goodness. He was eminent for many qualities and was unique for his genius and humanity. He used to distribute food freely and used to serve Shaikhs and Faqirs without reserve. (Maasir-ul-Umara, (MS.) Vol. I. p. 209.)

Ahmadabad to take his position between the territories of the Rajputs and Ahmadabad. Prince Muhammad Akbar was sent with a large force to pursue the Rana.[70]

In order to meet the crisis the Rana despatched the royal families of Mewar and Marwar to the distant village of Nenwara[71] amidst the hills of Bhomat. The civil population of the country was ordered to retire into the hilly tracts. The whole of central Mewar was evacuated and laid waste. Udaipur was also depopulated.[72] In order to meet the onslaught of the enemy the Rana called a meeting of the leading nobles and officers of the state. On some minor details opinions differed, but Garibdas, the head-priest of the Rana, who was also a great military expert, discussed the details of war and the. methods to be adopted. His view carried weight and accordingly important passes were chosen to offer resistance to the enemy from the side of the hilly tracts. The military out-posts that were specially chosen were Deobari, Nai, Chirwa and Jhilwada. They were garrisoned by Rajput outposters who were better armed and better led than other troops. The northern and the central parts of Mewar, which were desolated and deserted, were kept open for the enemy's army to come.[73] In this way the Rana was ready with 20,000 cavalry, 25,000 infantry and 1,000 elephants to meet the Mughal army.[74] Jai Singh the

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[70] Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (Per. Text), pp. 193, 195, 198.
Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, (Per. Text), Vol. II. pp. 262, 263.

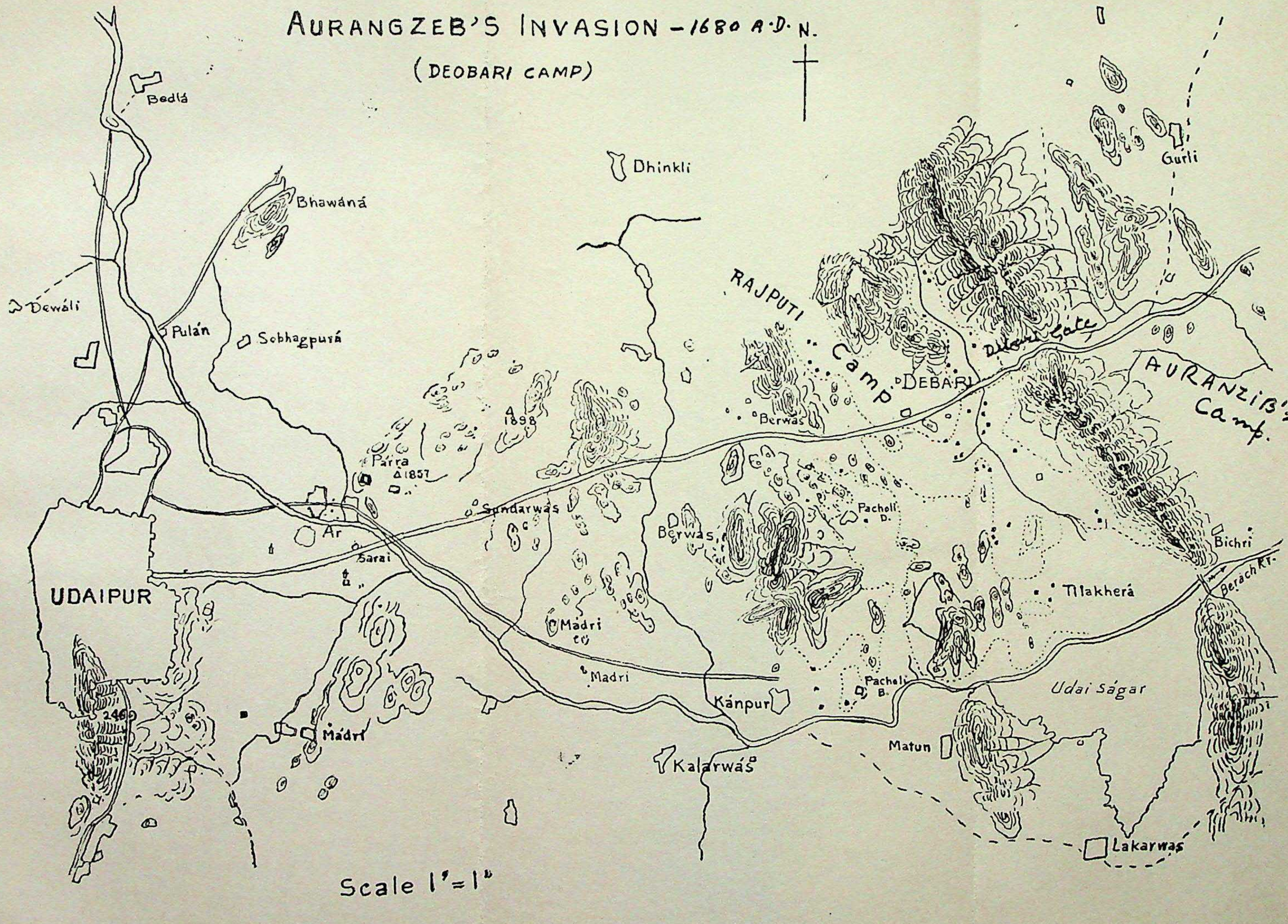
[71] MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, F. 111 (b).
Vir Vinod, Vol. II. p. 465.

[72] Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, (Per. Text), Vol. II. p. 263.
MS. Sisod Vanshavali, F. 32 (a).

[73] MS. Raj Vilas, Canto 10, VV. 54-80, 144 (a)-146 (b).

[74] MS. Raj Vilas, Canto 10, V. 82. F. 146 (b), 147 (a).

The number given by Man Kavi perhaps includes the number of Rathor forces also. This number is variously


AURANGZEB'S INVASION - 1680 A.D.
(DEOBARI CAMP)
N.
Bedlá
Dhinkli
Gurli
Bhawáná
Dewáli
Pulán
Sobhagpurá
RAJPUTI Camp
DEBARI
Debari Gate
AURANZIB's Camp.
Berwas
1898
Párra
1857
Sundarwás
Ar
Sarai
UDAIPUR
Pacholi D.
Berwas
Bichri
Tilakherá
Berach RT.
Madri
Madri
Kánpur
Pacholi B.
Udai Ságar
2469
Mádri
Matun
Kalarwás
Lakarwas
Scale 1" = 1m

eldest son of the Rana was posted in the hills near Girwa, Sanwal Das Rathor of Badnor was stationed at Deosuri, Vikramaditya Solanki and Gopi Nath of Ghanerao were in charge of the defence of the hilly area between Deosuri and Badnor. Dayal Das was kept ready to face an invasion from the Malwa side. The Bhils of Ogna, Panarwa, Jawas etc. were ordered to resist the enemy in the southern part of the country. The Rana himself took charge of Deobari and Nai pass, near Udaipur.[75]

When the news of the progress of his advance-guard reached Aurangzib he left Ajmer for Mewar on 30th November, 1679 A. D.[76] Prince Azam also joined him at his camp at Mandal. Although the imperialists were in possession of several parts of the plains of north Mewar, it was no easy task for them to entice the Rana who had taken up a strong defensive position in the hills and whose forces were guarding the Girwa. Aurangzib, therefore, encamped in the plain just outside the walls of Deobari and ordered Hasan Ali Khan and Tahavvur Khan to proceed towards Udaipur—through Raj-Nagar. The emperor's presence at Deobari was sufficient to threaten the Rajputs who left the defence of the pass and retired into the hills. Aurangzib acquired an easy victory over Deobari on 4th January, 1680 A. D. and crushed the feeble opposition of a few guards that were left there.[77]

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given by MS. Vanshavali Ranajini, F. 26 (b) and MS. Suryavansh, F. 61 (a).

[75] MS. Raj Vilas, Canto 10, VV. 78-101. F. 146 (a), 149 (a).

[76] Raj Vilas, Canto 10, V. 102. F. 149 (a).
Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (P. T.), p. 180.

[77] Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (Per. Text), p. 186.
Raj Prashasti, Canto 10, V. 88. F. 147 (b).

An inscriptive evidence, dated 14th of the bright-half of Posh V. S. 1736 of the cenotaph at Deobari records that Gor Singh fell fighting here with his men.

Hasan Ali Khan who had started towards Udaipur with 7000 picked men in search of the Rana could not fare well. He was lost in the rugged defiles of Girwa which made the emperor anxious about his welfare. However, he was traced out by Mir Shihabuddin, a smart Turani Lieutenant. Finding the task arduous for a small army a strong reinforcement under prince Azam, Khan Jahan Bahadur and Yaktaz Khan was sent for his help. This new force helped the general in capturing grain and other materials of Rana's camp on 23rd January. All methods of slaughter that the ingenuity of the Mughal generals could devote were employed, 173 temples, several habitations, fields, fruits, farms were destroyed and many children and women were killed in and around Udaipur. There was a tough fighting at the temple of Jagannath, in the heart of the city. The titanic efforts of the ruthless invader damaged several priceless treasures of Hindu art sculptured on columns and main sides of the temple.[78]

After a few days' stay at Deobari Aurangzib returned towards Udai Sagar lake where three temples were hurled down. From here the imperial camp marched towards Chitor and demolished sixty temples. Thinking that the Sisodia power was crushed by the occupation of Udaipur, Chitor and the destruction of several villages and temples and the Rana's escape into the hills, Aurangzib delegated the command of Mewar army (12,000) to prince Akbar. He left Mewar and reached Ajmer on 22nd March, 1680.[79]

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[78] Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, (Per. Text), Vol. II. p. 263.
Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (Per. Text), p. 186.
Raj Vilas, Canto 10, VV. 105-112.
MS. Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Chaghtai, Vol. II. F. 122.

[79] Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (Per. Text), p. 190.
MS. Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Chaghtai, Vol, II. F. 122 (b), 123 (a).

The emperor's retirement to Ajmer was a signal for the Rajputs to retaliate. By following their old tactics of guerilla warfare they began to cut the supply of the Mughal outposters and made their existence extremely difficult. Nearly all the roads and passes were in the hands of the Rana which made communication difficult.[80] Kunwar Amar Singh made desperate attempts to harass the imperial forces.[81] Jhala Pratap of Karget gained a great success against prince Akbar and wrested two elephants of the imperial army which he offered to Raj Singh.[82] Bhim Singh, one of the Rana's sons marched through Idar, Vadnagar and Gujarat. During the course of his campaign he destroyed thirtyone mosques and transformed them into temples.[83] Jai Singh with a large army made a surprise attack on Chitor and caused great slaughter in the Mughal army.[84] The unshaken courage, energy and night-raids of the Rajputs made it difficult for the Mughal outposters to maintain their position.

The contemporary local accounts of the Rajput retaliation might have been exaggerated, but the conditions under which the Mughals had to fight in Mewar go to prove their authenticity to a large extent. The comparatively small force of 12000 that was left under Akbar was practically insufficient for opposing the Rana's army which was more than four times[85] in number to that of the Mughals. As Akbar failed to justify his position before the strong organization and the energy of the Rajputs he was removed from his post and prince Azam was given the command of Chitor on 26th June, 1680.[86]

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[80] Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, (Per. Text), p. 264.

[81] Raj Vilas, Canto 12, V. 1.

[82] Raj Prashasti, Canto 22, V. 21; MS. Raj Vilas, Canto 14.

[83] Raj Prashasti, Canto 22, VV. 26-29.
MS. Raj Vilas, Canto 15.

[84] Raj Prashasti, Canto 22, VV. 30-38.
MS. Raj Vilas, Canto 18.

[85] MS. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Vol. I. p. 466.
Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, (Per. Text), Vol. II. pp. 263-264, states that there were 25000 Rathors fighting under the

In this phase of the war from November, 1679 to June, 1680 although the Mughals demolished a large number of temples, destroyed houses and fields and killed numberless persons, occupied Udaipur and Chitor and certain other outposts, they failed to shake the Rajput grip over their defence points from which they carried successful raids and suprise attacks. Their tactics of cutting the supply practically reduced the Mughal outposters to the position of insecurity. Plainly speaking the combined efforts of these scattered post-holders was improbable. So much was the threat of the local assault says a letter[87] of the prince to the emperor that captain after captain shrank from his duty of taking offensive and the Mughal troops declined to enter any pass and make any advance.

Henceforth the Mughals adopted a plan[88] by which the hills of Mewar might be entered. Akbar who was removed from Chitor was posted in Marwar and was instructed to proceed to Deosuri via Sojat, Nadol, Godwar and Narlai. Prince Azam was ordered by the emperor to march through Deobari pass and occupy the interior hilly tracts. Prince Muazzam was required to pass through Raj Samudra and take possession of

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Rana. If the Rana's number is also taken as equal to that of the Rathors the entire force goes up to 50,000.

[86] MS. Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Chaghtai, Vol. II. F. 124.
Sarkar : Aurangzib, Vol. II. p. 346.

[87] Adab, Nos. 662, 666, 733, 734 (Sarkar, Vol. III. p. 344.)

[88] Raj Prashasti, Canto 23, V. 24.

"घट्टत्रयस्य मार्गस्य दृष्ट्यर्थं प्रेषिता भटाः"

that part of land. This method was adopted with a hope to deprive the Rana of his mountainous positions. But princes Azam and Muazzam failed (July 1680) to achieve their object due to strong Rajput resistance led by Rawat Rukmangad and Udai Bhan. The heroic action of Maha Singh, Kesari Singh and Ratan Singh inflicted great loss on the Mughals.[89]

Prince Akbar's progress in Marwar was not smooth due to the surprise attacks of the Rathors. However, by regular stages he was able to reach Deosuri[90] (19th Nov. 1680). In the meantime Rana Raj Singh had died on 22nd October, 1680 A. D. and the command of opposition was taken by Jai Singh who was installed on the Gadi at Kuraj (Sahara district) the same day. When the approach of the imperial army was reported to him the new Rana sent his brother Bhim Singh and Bika Solanki to check the progress of the Mughals.[91] On 22nd Nov. there was a tough fight between the Rajputs and the Mughals resulting in immense slaughter on both the sides. However, before the superior strength of the Mughal army the Rajputs had to give way and Jhilwara fell into the Mughal hands on 22nd Nov.[92] But the Mughal progress was marred by Ganga Singh's[93] surprise attack on Chitor. He captured nine elephants of the Mughals and presented them to the Rana. Perhaps to check the further progress of the Rajput retaliation in the north prince Muazzam

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Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (Per. Text), p. 195.
MS. Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Chaghatai, Vol. II. F. 125.

[89] Raj Vilas, Cantos 11, 12, 13 and 14.

[90] Raj Prashasti, Canto 23, VV. 9-15.
Raj Vilas, Canto 18, V. I.

[91] Raj Vilas, Canto 10, V. 14.
Raj Prashasti, Canto 23, V. 15.

[92] Raj Prashasti, Canto 23, V. 15.

[93] Raj Vilas, Canto 14, VV. 7-39.

sent a Farman on 27th Nov., 1680 A. D. (No. 3 in Dr. Raghubir's collection) to Dolat Singh of Shahpura to remain watchful and loyal to the Mughal Government. Dayal Shah, one of the ministers of the Rana ravaged Malwa, Sarangpur, Devas, Sironj, Mandu, Ujjain etc. and caused everything that fell in his way to be consumed by the flames of fire (Dec. 1680)[94]. Thus the repeated retaliation and the physical condition of the Kumbhalgarh District checked the further progress of the Mughals who could not make any successful headway beyond Deosuri and Jhilwara. The Rajputs too in their attempts to drive away the Mughals from their country could make no remarkable progress.

When the Rajputs failed to avert the danger which was lurking over their country for about a year and when the country was running short of provisions, their leaders Rana Raj Singh and Durgadas adopted a clever plan[95] of opening negotiations with prince Muazzam. But their first overture failed due to the warning of Nawab Bai, the mother of Muazzam who had secretly written to her son not to allow any of the vakil of the Rana to see him in connection with the peace talks. But the mission had a successful influence on prince Akbar who had failed to impress his father during his days of command in Mewar and Marwar. An ambitious prince and aggrieved commander he lent easy ears to the proposal of the Sisodias and the Rathors to instal him on the throne of Delhi.[96] But when every thing was arranged, Rana Raj Singh died on 22nd Oct., 1680 A.D. This brought the matter to a close.

The skirmishes at Deosuri and Jhilwara suggested to both the parties the futility of prolonging the war.

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[94] Raj Vilas, Canto 17.

[95] Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, (Per.Text), Vol. II. p. 264; Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (Per.Text), p. 195.

[96] Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (Per. Text), pp. 196, 197.

The daily desertion of four-hundred men in the Mughal camp due to the shortage of supplies of foodstuff and other provisions made Akbar renew peace negotiations with the Rana.[97] It was ultimately settled through Rao Kesari Singh that Akbar as emperor would honour the prestige of the Rana and restore to him that part of Mewar which was in the Mughal possession. On his side the Rana promised to place half of his force at the disposal of the prince to fight against his father.[98]

On the successful conclusion of the negotiations Akbar crowned himself as emperor at Nadol[99] on 11th January, 1681 under 'the armed strength of the two greatest Rajput clans, the Sisodias and the Rathors' and Tahavvur Khan was created the Amir-ul-Umra. Aurangzib was informed of this plan, before it had crystalised, by prince Muazzam, but the emperor did not believe it. After he had ascertained the authenticity of the news, his first thought was one of nervousness, as his forces were scattered and engaged in the various parts of his empire. Letters of the call were now sent and within a few days Shahabuddin Khan, Hamid Khan and prince Muazzam and Azam reached Ajmer with their contingents. The emperor in a short time equipped himself with a large force to meet Akbar and the combined strength of the Sisodias and the Rathors.[100]

Akbar did not take speedy action against his father, rather he wasted full fortnight in making either preparation or probably indulging in indolence and pleasure. His movement from Mewar to Ajmer to attack his father was so slow that the emperor got time to complete his preparations. This lithargical move led to many a desertion from the prince's side, only 30,000 loyal Rajputs stood by him. The emperor with all his power left Ajmer and encamped on 22nd January, at the field of Doraha, close to the modern Sardhana station of Western Rly. Akbar also marched to Kurki[101] and when the emperor advanced four miles further south, the prince approached the imperial camp, and there remained a distance of only three miles between the two opposing forces.[102]

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[97] Raj Prashasti, Canto 23, VV. 30-31.

"अन्नाभावा न्नित्यमेव लोकानान्तु चतुः शतं
अथाकबर आयातो मिलनं कर्त्तुमुद्यतः"

[98] Adab, Nos. 756, 762 and Akbar's letter to Shambhuji (Sarkar's Aurangzib, Vol. III. p. 356.)

[99] Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 1938. pp. 355-360.

[100] Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (Per. Text), p. 198.
Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, (Per. Text), Vol. II. pp. 266-268.
MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, F. 112(a) (b).

Before the decisive day of the 26th January dawned Aurangzib was successful in depriving Akbar of his right-hand man, Tahavvur Khan.[103] Next he had a letter addressed to Akbar praising him for trying to entrap the Rajputs, and had it dropped near Durgadas' camp. The letter fell into Durgadas' hand who rushed to Akbar's camp for its verification. But entrance to his camp was refused by the eunuchs. The Rajputs who were also informed of the letter ran to Tahavvur's camp who was also found missing. Akbar's sleep and Tahavvur's absence were misunderstood as the prince's deliberate pre-arranged plan to entrap the Rajputs. In a fit of rage they robbed his baggage and abandoned him three hours before dawn, only a band of 350 Rajput horse remained with him. In the morning when the prince awoke he found with great despair that a great change had taken place in the brief hours of that ruinous night. He was rendered without men and money. It was a miserable end of his fortune. His dream of the occupation of his ancestral throne waxed away. In the pathetic solemnity of the scene the prince followed by a small band of faithful followers left the field. After thirty-six hours the Rajput force including Durgadas which had left the field in a strong conviction of prince Akbar's betrayal, came back to rejoin the prince after the truth about Aurangzib's stratagem had become known. But it was too late to take any offensive against the imperial power. Flight was the only alternative. Escorted by five-hundred[104] faithful Rajputs under Durgadas, he issued forth from Mewar, crossed Jhadole,Chhappan, Salumber and reached Dungarpur. Here he made a halt for four days and then passing through Banswara, Narbada, Khandesh reached Konkan in Shambhuji's protection (11th June, 1681), changing routes and avoiding imperial outposts and officers.[105]

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[101] Kurki is 24 miles south-west of Ajmer and nine miles north-west of Pisangan.

[102] Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (Per.Text), pp. 200-201.

[103] By the influence of Inayat Khan, the father-in-law of Tahavvur, he was called to the emperor's camp and put to death.

Though Akbar's rebellion failed disastrously, it indirectly gave relief to the Rana by diverting the Mughal attention towards Marwar and the whereabouts of Durgadas.[106] Next Aurangzib felt compelled to move towards the Deccan where prince Akbar had taken shelter. The Maharana who was not as ambitious and enterprising as his father Raj Singh longed for a cessation of warfare. The desolate condition of the country also required that the period of war should come to an end. Aurangzib too in order to devote himself to the pursuit of Akbar and to the Deccan War was not much particular about the subjugation of Mewar. Therefore he gave the sole authority of the Mewar campaign to prince Azam.[107]

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[104] As regards the number of Rajput escorts authorities vary. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab gives 300 or 400 ; while Rajput source 500 which is also accepted by Sir J. N. Sarkar (Vol. III. p. 367.)

The route of prince's escape as given in Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, (Per. Text), Vol. II. p. 270 is Lahore, Multan and then the Deccan. This does not seem convincing because it is a long way which no refugee would adopt.

[105]. Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (Persian Text), p. 202.

Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, (Persian Text), Vol. II. p. 275
MS. Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, FF. 112-113.

The Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV. pp. 250-252, Sarkar : Aurangzib, Vol. III. pp. 358-368.

[106]. Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (Per.Text), p. 179.

The Rana, it seems, opened negotiations sometimes after the flight of prince Akbar. A farman[108] from Aurangzib to the Rana dated 23rd Feb. 1681 indicates that the peace talks had begun even earlier than this date. Shyam Singh a representative of the Rana and Dalel Khan and Hasan Khan met frequently to work out the terms of a treaty.[109] Rana Jai Singh also paid visits to the prince in this connection.[110] Ultimately both the parties agreed on the following terms[111] :

(1) The Rana would cede to the empire the parganas of Mandal, Pur and Badnor in lieu of the Jaziya.

(2) The Mughals would withdraw their forces from Mewar.

(3) The country of the Rana's ancestors would be restored to him.

(4) The official recognition of his title would be accorded and a command of five-thousand would be conferred upon Jai Singh.

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[107] The Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV. p. 252.

[108] Farman of Aurangzib, Vir Vinod, Vol. II. pp. 651-652.

[109] Raj Prashasti, Canto 23, VV. 32-33.

[110] Raj Prashasti, Canto 23, V. 34.

[111] Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (Per.Text), pp. 207-208.
Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, (Per. Text), Vol. II. p. 606.
MS. Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Chaghtai, Vol. II, F. 127.

On 24th June the final ratification of the terms was made on the banks of Raj Samudra lake. The prince was entertained on the bank of the lake with his followers consisting of Dalel Khan, Hasan Ali Khan, Rathor Ratan Singh of Ratlam, Hada Kishor Singh etc. The Rana putting the town of Rajnagar in the charge of Jhala Chandra Sen started in a procession consisting of his leading nobles and 1000 horse. The band of seven horse on each side of the Rana was guarding the person of the Rana. When the party reached the place of meeting, the Rana cordially received the prince with his priest Garibdas on one side and his chief-minister Bhikhu on the other. A large number of the visitors were also present at the occasion when the exchange of presents and robe of honour etc. was made. The function was celebrated with perfect dignity becoming to the parties. The Rana then returned to his camp with great satisfaction.[112]

The Rana, it seems, wrote a letter of congratulation on this occasion which was acknowledged by the emperor by sending a farman[113] (18th July, 1681) in which he wished that the Rana should abide by the terms and remain loyal to the Mughal empire. He expressed the hope that the Rana would fulfil all his duties to the Mughal throne and would never attempt hereafter to go against Aurangzib's empire. He also honoured the Maharana by sending a robe of honour, a horse, an elephant and other valuable things with Muhammad Naim.[114]

From the day of the treaty to the death of Jai Singh which occurred in 1698 A. D. there was complete peace between the emperor and the Rana. The Maharana utilised the remaining period of his reign in looking

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112. Raj Prashasti Mahakavya, Canto 23, VV. 34-58.

113. Farman No. 4 is in the collection of Dr. Raghubir Singh which he had obtained from Shahpura.

114. Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Chaghtai, (MS. Vol. II. p. 128.)

after his internal affairs and construction of public works (1691) like Jai Samudra, perhaps one of the biggest of the artificial lakes in the world. His successor Rana Amar Singh (1698-1707) did not defy the Mughal authority. In response to the imperial request he sent contingent[115] of the troops to participate in Aurangzib's war in the Deccan.

Aurangzib's war left a deep scar on Mewar. Sir J.N. Sarkar[116] rightly observes, "The Rajput war was a drawn game so far as actual fighting was concerned, but its material consequences were disastrous to the Maharana's subjects. They retained their independence among the sterile crags of the Aravali, but their corn-fields in the plain below were ravaged by the enemy. They could stave off defeat but not starvation." The treaty of peace failed to restore cordiality between the two ruling houses. Although Rana Jai Singh and his son Amar Singh II did not harass the Mughal administration during Aurangzib's absence from northern India for twenty-six long years, they did not even support the Mughal cause wholeheartedly. The Rathors of Marwar who were the Rana's allies also remained aloof. Aurangzib had, therefore, to fight his Deccan wars without enthusiastic support of the Rajputs. If the Mughal empire began to show signs of decay and disruption one reason for this phenomenon was the indifference of those who had been responsible for the extension of the empire.

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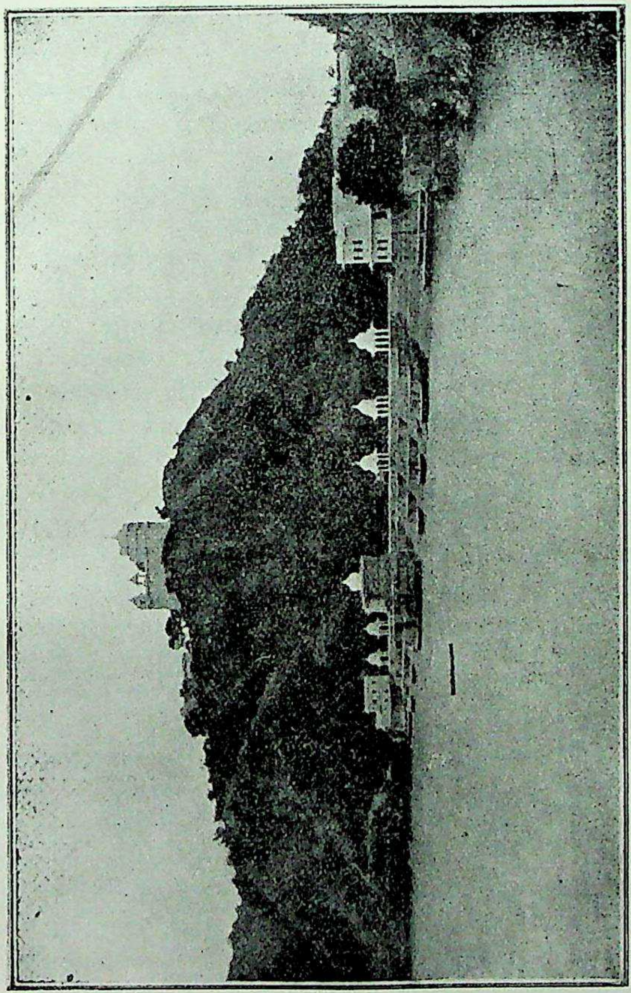
[115] Vazir Asad Khan's letter to Amar Singh, dated 19th Dec. 1700, Vir Vinod, II. p. 746.

Zulfiqar Khan's letter acknowledging the contingent, dated 15th July, 1704, Vir Vinod, II. pp. 751-752.

[116] Sarkar : Aurangzib, Vol. III. p. 369.



Jai Samudra

## Chapter IX

# CONCLUSION

No ruling family in our mediaeval history ever put up so consistent and stubborn a resistance against the establishment of foreign rule in the land as did the Sisodias of Chitor. The early rulers of this dynasty took part in the movement of checking the expansion of the Arabs into Gujarat, Kathiavad and north-western Rajasthan. Next they measured swords with the early Turks who after their initial success of establishing Delhi as their capital pursued for centuries the aggressive policy of reducing the whole of India to submission. It was inevitable that the ruling family of Mewar should have come into conflict with the expansionist tendencies and religious activities of the Turks and to nullify the fulfilment of their ardent dream. About the time when the Sultanate of Delhi in the time of the Lodis was about to be bid low, the Mughals came to our country and their leader Babur sought to inflict a fresh foreign yoke on the neck of our ancestors. Babur's immediate successors considered it a pious duty to bring the whole country under their rule. By this time most of the ancient indigenous dynasties that had measured swords with Arabs and Turks had disappeared and those who remained were so weak that they shrank from the task of fighting for their religion and country. The Sisodias, on the other hand, in pursuance of the tradition bequeathed to them by their fore-fathers, kept the spirit of resistance alive for many a generation and offered themselves a sacrifice for freedom against the onslaught of the Mughals. In this respect the history of Mewar is unique.

The story of Mewar's resistance against the Mughals is a splendid record of martial and glorious deeds and noble actions of the rulers and people alike. The admiration one feels for their heroic character enhances as one reflects that that tiny state had no adequate resources and had to fight against odds. The causes of the strength that Mewar showed in defending herself therefore, deserve to be examined.

The most potent fact that kept them engaged for generations in a war against foreign power was the force of the tradition of resistance referred to above. Belief in the sublime purity of their descent and in the mission they were called upon to fulfil their old instituion, inherited from Bapa and Khuman[1], gave the rulers and people a sense of self-respect and confidence which supported them in many a dark hour of their history.

Moreover, the concentration of power in the hands of one man–the head of the state–since times immemorial made for strength, specially when the ruling family produced a series of remarkably able warriors in succession as was the case in Mewar. The rulers enjoyed great respect among their people. The words uttered by them were termed as order of 'Shree Mukh', the pious mouth and the Rana was dignified as 'Shreeji', that is a great being. This traditional halo and glory handed down from father to son stirred the people to support the Rana and the latter to continue the resistance against his enemies. The dynasty with little break produced one hero after another who were interested in the martial traditions of the race. Bapa, Khuman, Kumbha, Sanga, Pratap, Raj Singh were men of conspicuous ability and strength of character. The advent of each marked the renewal of the aggressive power of the state.

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1. Even to this day the bardic poems are repeated ending with the phrase 'बापा तणा बिरदावली' i. e. the Glory of Bapa. Similarly Khuman has become a name not of a particular Rana but for all Ranas.

These traditional, racial and ideological factors were intensified by the existence of defiles, forts, hills and reservoirs in the country which bred in the people love of freedom, made the defensive operations comparatively easier and inspired confidence and strength. The varied aspects of Mewar's natural resources imparted corresponding peculiarities to the popular character and made its inhabitants able to share the turmoils of life. The population[2] of Mewar right from high caste Brahmins down to the Bhils imbibed a spirit of pride which powerfully contributed to hold the country together, to provide the government, always pressed by costly wars, probably with a revenue, and to maintain the public order and confidence during the days of adversity.

Equally important was the existence of organised feudalism with patriotic nobles always ready to lay down their lives for the glory of the ruling dynasty and the country. This institution, though a negation of political authority elsewhere, was one of the most powerful institutions in Mewar. The social structure was like an ever-flowing stream of personnel and could supply the needs of war at a minute's call.[3]

But of all the causes which prolonged the existence of Mewar one of the most potent was the religious unity and fervour of the fighting class due to their association with the cult of Shiva, and their faith in Ekaling, the supreme deity of the house of Guhilots as defined and determined by Bapa under the guidance of Harita.[4] This sense of religious unity gave them hope and courage through all the dangerous periods of trials.

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[2] From the time of Sanga to Raj Singh we came across a large number of fighters besides Rajputs who belonged to various castes inhabiting the country. The names of Garibdas (Brahmin), Bhama Shah, Dayal Shah (Vaishya), Punja and Rama (Bhils) are the instances. I have seen swords, shields, bows and arrows in some of the poorest families of Mewar preserved as relics of glory of their ancestors who must have taken daring part in one or other warlike engagements.

[3] There was a class of a force called 'Jamit' whose readiness for fighting was proverbial. 'Sirane-suti-Jamit', that is 'Jamit' is always ready at the pillow.

But these conditions could not hold good under all circumstances and in all times. The flower of Rajput chivalry which was engaged in war for about seven hundred years could not go on fighting for ever and betrayed signs of decay, even in time of Pratap. Some notable desertions such as those of Sakta, Jagmal, Sagar and Megh Singh proved baneful to its cause. The prolonged warfare also led to the destruction of able warriors and administrators in every generation and adversely affected the ruling class and the general public alike. After Raj Singh we notice a kind of general degeneration in the fighting class of Mewar which ultimately could not offer the desired opposition to the wanton aggression of the Marathas who freely ravaged their country and drained the resources of the state.[5] The weakness of the later Ranas also enabled the feudal vassals to establish petty despotism, in the later days, depriving the peasant proprietors, in whom Mewar abounded, of their hereditary rights in the land.[6] The wars brought with them ravaging effects on civil population in which men, cattle and corn-fields were the greatest sufferers.

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[4] Ekaling Mahatmya, Chapter 10th. VV. 28-30.

"भावेतां मनुजौ तत्र मेदपाटे उभावपि
हारीत बाष्प नामानौ चरेतुस्तावितस्ततः ॥२८॥
'सिद्ध साधक धर्मज्ञौ गुरुशिष्य स्वरूपिणौ ॥२९॥'
'तत्रतेपे तपो ब्रह्मन् हारीतो मुनिरुत्तमः ।
बाष्पः शुश्रूषणंचक्रे हारीतस्य शिवस्यच ॥३०॥"

[5] Tod: Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I. p. 545. My paper on Bapu Sindhia's invasion on Mewar in the proceedings of Indian Historical Records Commission, 1945.

[6] Tod : Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I. pp. 563-580.

After the treaty of 1615 and the establishment of peace between Mewar and the Mughals an attempt was made at harmonising their interests. By the frequent visits of Mewar's crown princes or those of their younger brothers and leading feudal lords and officers to the court and camps of the Mughals, and the ambassadorial visits of the Mughal officers to the Rana's court and their mutual exchange of presents led to the establishment of good relations between the two peoples. These contacts influenced Mewar in many respects—political, social, literary and economic.

The position of the Ranas during the period under review remained as before. They were regarded as the Dewans of their family deity–Ekaling and conducted all state business in the capacity of Dewan.[7] They were the chief executive, the military and the Judiciary authority in the state. But they had to pay due deference to the will of the leading nobles of the state. The quitting of the fort of Chitor by Udai Singh during Akbar's invasion was in accordance with the general opinion of the main Sardars of Mewar. The dethronement of Jagmal and the installation of Pratap show that the opinion of the nobility was effective on occasions of importance. The unquestioned ascendency of the nobility in Mewar was the result of the prolonged wars during the period of our study.

The prolonged wars also adversely affected the civil administration to a great extent. The old council[8] of advisers referred to in the Sarnath inscription of Allat (953 Hijri) had disappeared. The officers concerned in the conduct of military affairs appear to have been retained. The Ekaling Prashasti[9] records that Rana Kshetra Singh and Mokal, two important (military) officers, one 'Durgadhi Raj', or chief-keeper of the forts, and the other Skandhavarik or the commander of the forces. In Raimal's time there is a reference to Pancholi Himmat[10], the minister, who conducted the work of the civil administration. From Sanga to Pratap's time there is no definite mention of the former two posts of Durgadhi Raj and Skandhavarik but we can safely assume that these must have existed because of the almost continuous warfare during the period. Of course, there are records to show that a minister in charge of the civil administration existed in the reign of these Ranas. Shah Girdhar Pancholi was the chief minister of Sanga.[11] Shah Madhu[12] was the minister of Rana Vikramaditya. Udai Singh's minister was Shah Asha,[13] while that of Rana Pratap was Shah Bhama.[14] The prolonged warfare made it necessary that these ministers should also look after military department and control the forces in the fields of battle. Bhama Shah as we have seen, earned fame for his exploits in Gujarat and Malwa. It was Rana Amar Singh who after the treaty with Jahangir in 1615, attempted the reorganization of his civil administration. His court poet Jiwadhar[15] says that he had several ministers who were designated as 'Amatyas.' Dungar Shah was his chief minister who enjoyed the designation of Mukhya Mantri. It seems that the Rana had separated civil from the military administration. Hari Das was the 'Daladhikari' or the commander-in-chief of Mewar forces which consisted of infantry, cavalry, elephants, chariots and artillery. In the structure and working of the military administration there had occurred a radical change from the time of Jagat Singh I (1628–1652). It was divided into departments. According to Man Kavi[16], his ministers were designated as Mantri-Praver or chief minister, Purohit or the

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[7] In local correspondence the phrase 'Diwanji Adeshatu' was generally used for the Ranas.

[8] The council consisted of Amatya, Sandhi-Vigrahik, Akṣhapatalik, Vandipati and Bhishakadhiraj.

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[9] Bhavnagar Inscriptions, VV. 35, 44.

'दुर्गाधिराजं समरभुविपरा' ; 'स्कंधावारसपार वारणगज' etc.

[10] Copper-plate No.185 of the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur, dated the 15th of the bright-half of V. S. 1557.

[11] Copper-plate No. 26/144 22 (2) in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur, dated the 1st of the dark-half of Vaishakh, V. S. 1582.

Photograph No. 26/144 (2) in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur, dated the 1st of the dark-half of Vaishakh, V. S. 1582.

[12] Photograph No. 26/47 of the same office of 30th dark-half of V. S. 1589.

[13] Photograph No. 26/369 of the same office dated the 1st of the bright-half of Kartik, V. S. 1600.

[14] Photograph No. 26/133 of the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur, dated the 5th of the bright-half V. S. 1633.

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[15] MS. Amarsar, I. Adhikar, VV. 199 & 259 FF. 17 (a) 22 (b) and colophon.

'मंत्री डुगरसीहो धात्र्यां रत्नानि चत्वारि'

'हस्त्यश्व पादातरथैन भूरं विलोक्य राज्ञामरसिंह नाम्ना ।
सिंहोपमस्शौर्य गुणेन सम्यक् कृतोधिकारी हरिदास झालः ॥'

[16] MS. Raj Vilas, Canto 2, VV. 67-72. F. 33.

प्रोहित मंत्रिवर प्रवार । हुकमदार हुजदार ॥६७॥
दलपति गनपति दंडपति गजपति हयपति सार ।
रथपति पयदलपति प्रगट । हैं जिह्न अति अधिकार ॥६८॥
कोशरु कोठागार पति । शाषकतर भूप
षटताषा नव षंडके । नर जह नव रूप ॥६९॥
सुश्रूषिक पार्श्वम गनक लेषक लिषन अभूत ।
मर्द्दिक संधिक यष्टिधर अनुज दुवारिक दूत ॥७०॥
श्रीपति सेठ सुसार्थपति सौदागर सगर्व्व ।
मागध चारन कवि गायन गन गंधर्व ॥७१॥
वादित्रिक मौष्टिक विविध । पायक वैद्य प्रसिद्ध ॥७२॥

Chief-priest, Dalpati or the commander-in-chief, Dandapati or the Chief-justice, Koshtapati or the Treasurer and Kotwal. Besides these there were departmental officers of lower grades as, Gajpati (the officer in charge of the elephants), Rathpati (the officer in charge of the chariots), Paidalpati (the infantry officer) and Kotharagarik (the store-keeper). There were reporters, Hukamdars and others. Departmentalisation seems to have been due to the Mughal influence. Though most of the officers enjoyed titles that had come down from ancient times, the titles of some of the officers such as Kotwal seems to have been borrowed from the Mughals. The words like Hukamdar and Paidal (pati) were borrowed from the Mughals. Raj Singh and his successors seem to have made no change in the system of administration.

The small state of Mewar from earlier times, as it seems, was a unit by itself and was known as Desh. The Mewar Desh[17] included 'Gram' or 'Gaon' 'Janapada' or 'Nagar'[18] and Durga[19] or forts. Before the Mughal contact there was no other intermediary division between the Desh and Gram, Nagar and Durga. The Rana's central administration was directly connected with 'Grams' and therefore he was also designated as 'Grammani'[20], the chief of the Grams.

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17. Jawar Inscription, V. S. 1554, V. 12.

'मेदपाटेश्वर देशे'

Amarsar, Deshvarnan and 1st Adhikar, V. 201.

'यद्देशो बहुनगरा'

18. Mahasati Inscription, V. S. 1331, V. 6.

'सौन्दर्यैकनिकेतनं जनपदः श्रीमेदपाटाभिधः'

19. Amarsar, 1st Adhikar, V. 199.

'वरचित्रकूट दुर्गो'

20. Abu Inscription, E. Indica. Vol. 16, VV. 46, 52.

'तेजसिंह सुतः सराष समरे चोणीश्वर ग्रामणी'

The management of forts was under 'Talaraksh'[21], who was a hereditary officer. The local administration of a village or town was conducted by Panchayats.[22] After Akbar's occupation of Chitor in 1568 A.D. it was made the 'Sarkar' of the Mughal empire and the Parganas were established in the Mewar territory under the Mughal rule.[23] After the treaty of peace of 1615 A. D. when the entire part of north, north-east and central Mewar, which was under the Mughals, came back to the Rana the Mughal administration units were retained and became a legacy from the Mughals. Rampol Inscription of Chitor (1621) refers to the Parganas of Mandalgarh, Phularo and Bhinavada. The copper-plates[24] of Rana Jagat Singh and Rana Raj Singh refer to villages as being under various Parganas of Rajnagar, Pur, Arya, Kanera, Rashmi, Sahada, Kapasin and Badnor. We do not know exactly what the designations of the Pargana and village officers were ; but it is clear from two Pattas[25] of Jagat Singh and Raj Singh's time that Pargana Officers were Rajputs of respectable position who used to discharge both civil and military functions within their areas. It also seems from the same sources that Bolava (escorts), Sarapiya (kalals) and Dohalya (free-land owners) were entrusted with the work of despatching messages and collecting contributions for war from villages.

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[21] Chirva Inscription, V. S. 1330, V. 30.

'श्री चित्रकूट दुर्गे तह्लारत्तांयः पितृक्रमायातां'

[22] Raj Vilas, Canto II, 131. F. 39 (b).

'कोटवालि सुचौंतरे उंच, बैठे कोटवाल करैं षल पंच।
निवेरहि सत्य असत्य सुन्याऊ, बहुचर वृन्द निसेवत पाउ' ॥

[23] Ain-i-Akbari, (Per. Text), Vol. I. p. 286.

[24] Copper-plate No. 505, 640, 449 and Photos of the plates. Album 1684-1704 in the same office.

[25] Plate No. 26/240 of Jagir Misal S. 95 in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur.

The lands in the villages were divided into two divisions.[26] Those lands which yielded crop only during winter were classed as 'Siyalu' or winter-crop land, and those which yielded crop during summer were called 'Unalu' or the summer-crop land. After Rana Udai Singh it seems that this sort of division of the land was given up as no copper-plate grant of Rana Pratap, Amar Singh or Karan Singh refers to such a division. Rana Jagat Singh revived the old system of division of land in 'Siyalu' and 'Unalu' with further reforms of dividing them strictly according to the capacity of its production. Nearly all his grants of land show the division of land into two classes and his grants distinctly mention the areas of the kinds of land given away in Jagirs. As for example a copper plate[27] records the grant of 200 bighas of land. Along this there is a mention that out of 200 bighas (both in words and figures) 160 bighas is a winter-crop land and 40 bighas is a summer-crop land. This classification had been due to the Mughal influence.

The lands were measured in Bighas and fifty Bighas were grouped into a 'Hal'[28]. As regards the state demand from the cultivators we have no definite records. But from the account of Rana Jagat Singh's poet[29] we reach to the conclusion that 1/6th was the state's share according to the prescription in Hindu Shastras. Of course this poor share was insufficient to finance schemes of public works and military administration. The state income was supplemented by the imposition of other taxes and duties as given below.

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[26] Copper-plate Inscription, No. 127 of Commissioner's Office, Udaipur dated the V. S. 1600.

[27] Copper-plate Inscription, No. 683 V. S. 1689 in the same office.

[28] Plate Nos. 477, 683, 184, 410 etc. in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur.

[29] Raghunath : Jagat Singh Kavya, Canto 7, V. 3. V. 51.

The income of the state was derived from several sources. The cultivators had to offer a share of the produce of the land either in cash or kind which was termed as 'Bhogya'[30] or 'Bhog'. Besides that the state had ample income from 'Khar-Lakhad', a state levy from the village in a form of wood and fodder.[31] The reference to this tax is made in nearly most of the dedicatory grants made during this period. They show that free use of wood was permitted by a special grant.[32] There was in addition 'Gras', or nominal tax on produce that the state demanded. Sometimes it was granted by the Ranas[33] as an allowance for some service. Man Kavi refers to such 'gras' which was given to the Bhils who joined the army of Raj Singh.[34] Besides this there were several other duties and contributions in a form of cash or kind that the state expected. Jagat Singh's Patta No. 26/240 of Commissioner's office refers to such contribution which he discontinued.

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'उचित भाग माप्नोति श्रेयसां संपदामपि'
'प्रोक्तः पुराणेषु नरेश्वराणां यत्कोश संवर्धनमेव धर्मः'
'धर्मार्ज्जितैरेव धनैरजस्रं तनोति कोशं सुकृती सतेन ।।'

[30] Photograph, 26/10 B. S. 95, V. S. 1734.

[31] Tod : Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I. p. 170.

[32] Copper-plate No. 796 of Rana Udai Singh's time, dated V. S. 1616 in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur.

[33] Photopgraph of a Copper-plate in the same office, of Rana Udai Singh, V. S. 1600.

[34] Raj Vilas, Canto 10, V. 97.

'वसुधा ग्रास बढ़ाय'

The Judiciary system was simple, but effective. It seems that the Ranas were themselves the fountain head of justice. But they never acted arbitrarily.[35] Panchayats decided cases in villages.[36] In Jagat Singh's time Kotwal[37] presided over the Panchayat at the capital. There was a Dandapati or Chief-Justice who must have been the highest court of appeal. But sometimes he decided original cases also. Jagat Singh's judicial reforms were influenced by the Mughal system.

As regards law and order, Pt. Jiwadhar[38] writes that during Amar's time the laws were so strict that no one could molest a woman or child and all persons respected the law of the country. The laws of punishment were guided by Smratis.[39] However the Mughal influence can be traced in some judicial institutions.

The Rajputs who believed in their traditional method of warfare based on swordsmanship and display of feats of chivalry had to make necessary change in their mode of fighting largely due to the Mughal influence. After the occupation of the fort of Chitor by Akbar the Sisodias made defiles, passes and hilly recesses as their headquarters and gave up gathering their strength in the forts. The new site of Udaipur

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[35] Amarsar, 1st Adhikar, V. 34.

'विनापराध लोकेस्मिन् बंधोभोक्षोपिननृणां'

[36] Tod : Annals and Antiquities, I. p. 171.

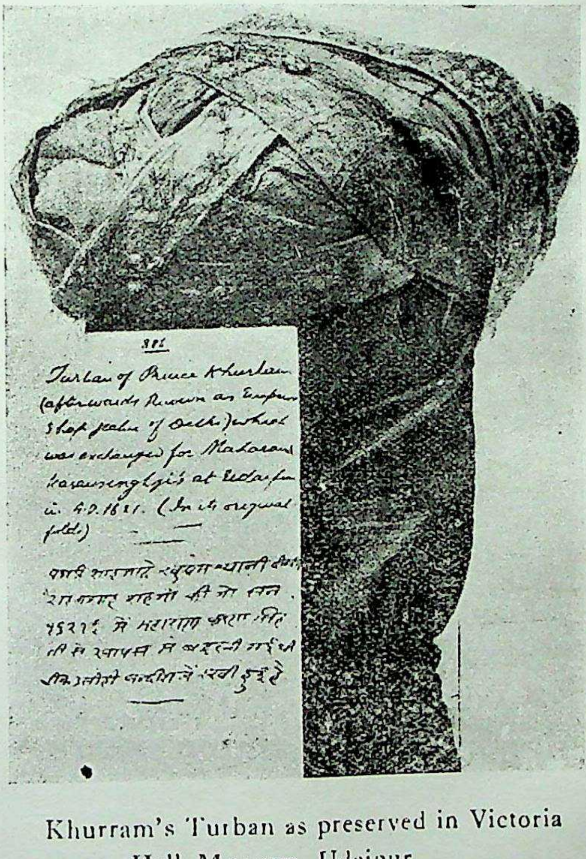
[37] Raj Vilas, Canto II, V. 131.

[38] Amarsar, 1st Adhikar, V. 201.

'धर्माचरणा सुजना धर्मोपि दयामयोयत्र'

[39] Jagat Singh Kavya, Canto 7, V. 48.

'दंड्येषु दंड वितरन् यथावत् पराशर प्रोक्तमतानुसारी'



Turban of Prince Khurram (afterwards known as Emperor Shah Jahan of Delhi) which was exchanged for Maharana Karansinghji's at Udaipur in A.D. 1621. (In its original folds)

Khurram's Turban as preserved in Victoria Hall Museum, Udaipur

chosen by Rana Udai Singh is an example of new strategy of war and new means of defence sought out. Formerly there was only one commander of the various arms of the army. Under him there were sub-commanders of the contingents, consisting of infantry, cavalry and elephants. Rana Jagat Singh separated the various branches of the army, and kept under separate commanders, for example, the charioteers, infantry, the horse-men and the elephants were under separate command. Over these commanders there was a chief-commander. The introduction of artillery at Haldi-Ghati referred to in Raj Ratnakar[40] and Amarkavya Vanshavali[41] was due to the example set by the Mughals.

The economic policy of the Ranas was much influenced by the continuous warfare in which Mewar had to engage herself. In order to provide land for cultivation the Ranas followed a scheme of rehabilitating men from the time of Pratap to Raj Singh. In order to improve the lot of the agriculturists several lakes for irrigation facilities were constructed. The Giyan Sagar Lake (1664), Raj Samudra (1676), Jai Samudra (1691) were the most important among them. The construction of Raj Samudra, as Man Kavi[42] says, was undertaken to give relief to famine-stricken people of Mewar.

The period under review had experienced many social changes. The change commenced from the time of Amar Singh I. The head-dress of the cour-

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40. Raj Ratnakar, Canto 7, V. 15.

‘ज्वलन यंत्रधरैः प्रचंण्डैः’

41. Amarkavya Vanshavali, Folio, 43 (b).

‘बहु वह्नि शस्त्रैः’

42. MS. Raj Vilas, Canto 8th, FF. 102-111.

tiers called 'Amar Shahi Pagri'[43] was first introduced by him which is still a recognized ceremonial head-dress of the Rana and his courtiers. The Amar Shahi turban is a modified form of the Mughal head-dress. The social grades of Sardars were also adjusted by the Rana.[44] The long robe and the trousers which form the court-dress got prominence from the time of Amar Singh I when exchange of robes of honour and visits to the court had been the normal routine after the treaty of 1615 A. D. These were the things borrowed from the Mughals.

In the domain of literature, art and architecture the period of peace between 1615-1679 A. D. can fitly be classed as the period of, 'The age of Rajput Renaissance', when the fine art which was lying dormant after the death of Rana Kumbha (1468 A. D.) emerged out once again with a new form in which the indigenous techniques were blended with the Mughal methods.

The contact between the two races influenced the Rajput architecture to a great extent. The most notable contribution of the period was the gradual absorption of foreign element into the Rajput taste. The earliest trace of such influence is to be found in some of the palaces built by Amar Singh—like Amar Mahal, Jagamandir and Badipol with a persian inscription dated the 21st November, 1616.[45] In these palaces the influence of the Mughal architectural ideas is noticeable only in matter of detail and not in the conception of architectural techniques. The modified arches, profuse decoration and ornamentation of pillars and stone lattices distinguish these constructions from the simple structure of Udai Singh at Moti Magri and

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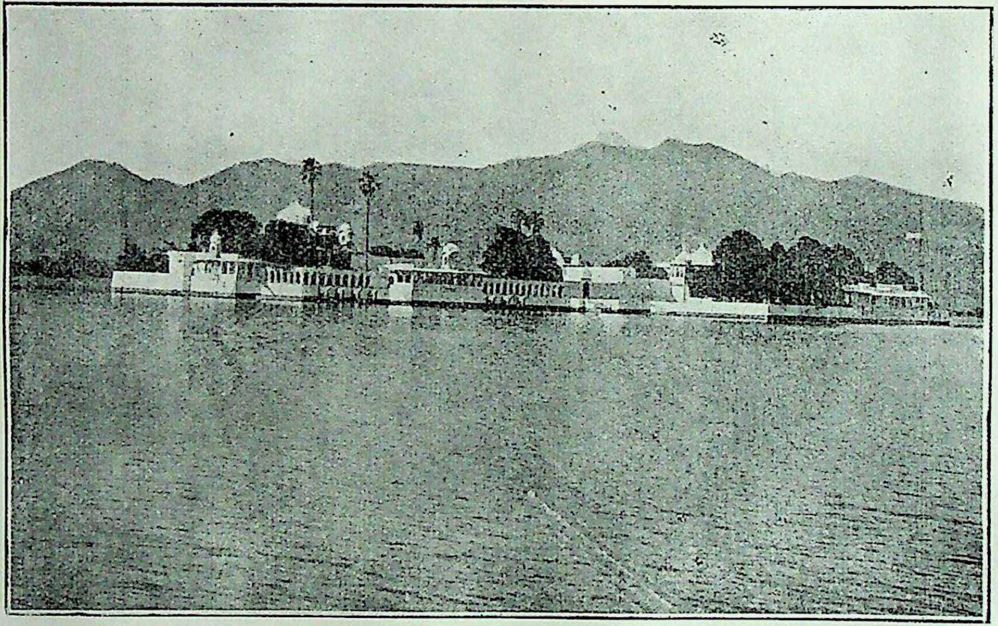
43. Tod : Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I. p. 409.
44. Tod : Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I. p. 409.
45. Ojha : Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas, Vol. I. p. 501,



Jagmandir Palace

the gigantic edifice of Pratap at Chavand. His successor Karan Singh who had many occasions to observe the Mughal architecture, built Moti Mahal, Manik Chowk, Zanani Mahal and Dilkush Mahal inside the main palaces at Udaipur and Ekaling Garh on the top of a hill just in the southern extremity of the city.[46] Even the names of the palaces reveal Mughal influence in many cases, and the style in which the palaces are built, their fine workmanship and the use of polished marble approximate them to the Mughal art. Jagat Singh I who followed him added to the beauty of Jagamandir, by laying a garden, constructing a big courtyard and adding towers and domes to the Zanani apartments. Kunwar Raj Singh constructed Sarwa Ritu Vilas in the eastern part of the capital with full display of fountains and domed chambers.[47]

But this fusion of the Rajput and the Mughal art in the royal architecture did not mean the displacement of the indigenous art. The temple of Jagannath Rai at Udaipur, built by Rana Jagat Singh in 1651 A.D. at the cost of fifteen lakhs of rupees, for instance is a remarkable structure of vigorous indigenous architectural and well-designed sculpture. It is a living monument of unsurpassed engineering skill. Similarly 'Nochoki' constructed by Rana Raj Singh between 1662 and 1676 at Rajnagar is a fine edifice breathing peace and elegance. The perfection of its proportion, harmony of its designs and minute carving of its figures makes it almost a rival to the Delwara temple of Abu or Sas Bahu temple of Nagda.[48]

Along with the encouragement of art there was also a revival of Sanskrit literature in Mewar. After

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46. Vir Vinod, Vol. II. pp. 269-271.
47. Ojha : Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas, Vol. II. p. 528.
48. Modern Review, May 1946, 'Forgotten Capital of Mewar' By G. N. Sharma.

Kumbha's death in 1468 A.D., who was a great scholar himself and a patron of art, the study of Sanskrit had received a set back and the cultivation of the literature was more or less given up. For a little less than two centuries there was no first rate literary production worth naming. From the reign of Amar Singh a distinct bias in favour of the study of Sanskrit is noticeable. 'Amarsar' of Pandit Jiwadhar of V. S. 1685 (1628) was begun in the reign of Amar Singh and was completed in the reigning period of Karan Singh, is an admirable exposition on the art of writing poetry and is blended with the historical facts. Amar Bhushan, a treatise on Astronomy and an original work on calculation by an unknown writer, show that the study of this branch was not neglected. During the reign of Jagat Singh I Sanskrit language seems to have been widely studied. I have in possession a MS. Simhasan Dwatrinshika of V.S. 1694 (1637 A. D.) which was written by Mishra Raimal for the study of Vidyadhar Sandhya of Bedla and which shows that the study of Sanskrit was popular in villages also. Among the numerous works produced during Jagat Singh's reign, the most note-worthy are Jagat Simhastaka by Mohan Bhatt, Jagat Simh Kavya by Raghunath and Jagannath Rai Inscription by Lakshmi Nath, which, though primarily meant as literary pieces of excellent metrical device, are useful for furnishing historical details of the Rana's time. This bias grew rapidly until the reign of Raj Singh gave it further momentum with the result that the age witnessed some of the finest production of Sanskrit.

The greatest name amongst the poets of the age of Raj Singh is that of Ran Chhoda Bhatt, the celebrated writer of Amarkavya Vanshavali[49] and Raj Prashasti Mahakavya as an independent and corroborative authority on the history of Mewar. Both these

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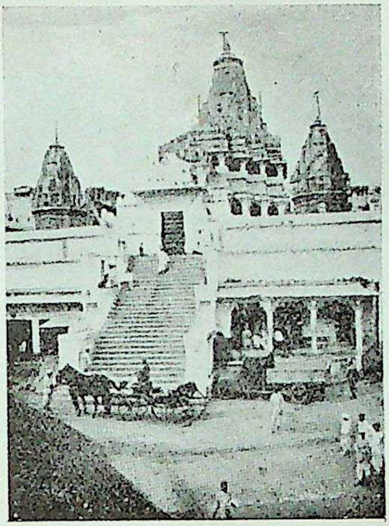
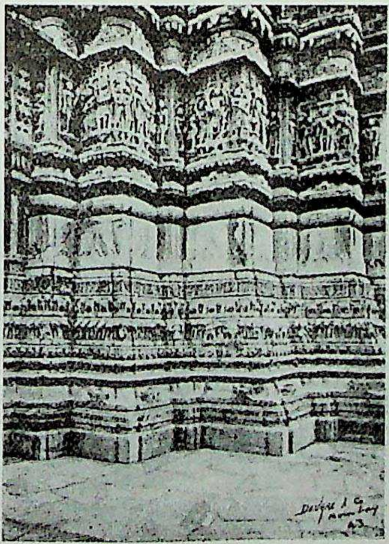
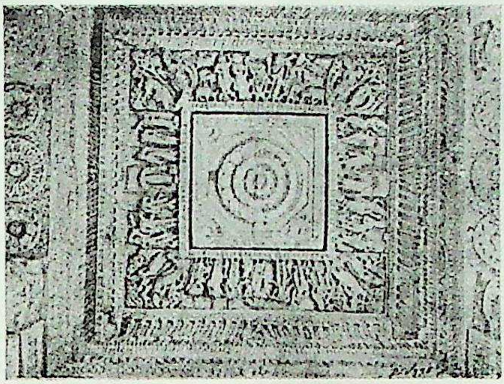
[49] My paper in the proceedings, I. H. R. Commission, 1945.



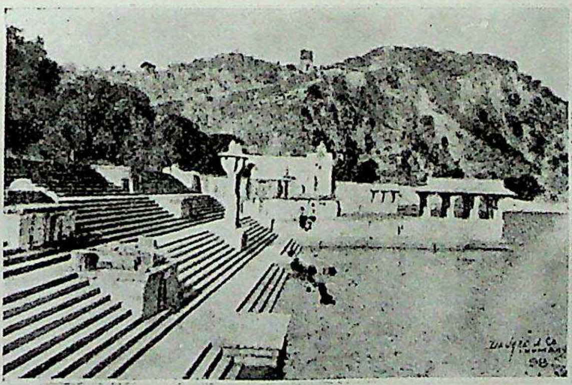
Jagdish Temple.



Engraving at Jagdish Temple.



Rajsamudra Nawchawki.



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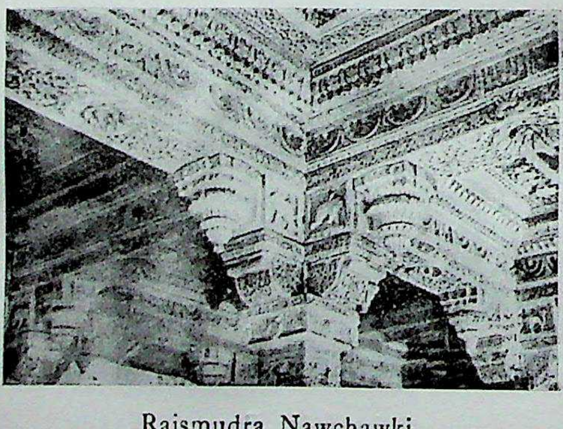

Rajsmudra Nawchawki.

works are remarkable as historical Kavyas possessing elegance and superbness of style. The writer was patronized first by Jagat Singh and then by Raj Singh. Next to him is Sada Shiva, an inhabitant of Banaras who came to Mewar where according to him the Muslim power had not yet overwhelmed the Hindu culture, and where there was free scope for his talent to shine. He seems to have been a prolific writer one of whose works 'Raj Ratnakar' (1676) is a distinguished historical work, and though written in an exaggerated manner, is a fine specimen of graceful style in Sanskrit. Another work Raj Ratnakar by Dhundi Raj; completed in year 1681 A. D., deals with the methods of testing precious stones. Raj Simhastaka by Mukand, another literary piece reveals the perfection of grace of diction and metre attained by that age.

Among the poets of Hindi-Rajasthani school the first name is that of Man Kavi, who wrote Raj Vilas, a poetical work in the flowery style giving the story of the exploits and adventures of Raj Singh's time.

It was during this period of peace that public interest was diverted towards local songs pertaining to the war-like glory of the heroes of Mewar. Ministrels singing at their harps created a taste in common people for poetry. Songs of that age reveal that there was a deep articulate poetry in the common folk of Mewar. Shyam, Gopal Das Dudavat, Rama Ashiya, Jogidas, Achaldas, Jeta Mahiyaria, Sadumal, Man Singh Ashiya, Jeth Ram Dadhivadia and Keshu were the poets who possessed a rich and flowery style and deserve to be read with great interest. From the point of view of history they afford an inexhaustible store of facts, which though mixed up with a lot of unhistorical legendary matter, have an indirect value of their own.

The development of Vanshavali literature in Mewari prose during this period deserves a brief notice. We come across large number of Vanshavalis or works on genealogies compiled during the period. They are generally brief, yet preserve several traditional stories of the history of Mewar.[50] The most important of them are Suryavansh, Tawarikh Vanshavali, Vanshavali Ranajini, Sisod Vanshavali and Raj-Kul-ri-Shakha.

Various branches of learning received encouragement at the hands of the Ranas who were themselves proficient in several branches of studies. Amar Singh I was called a connoisseur of art and was interested in fourteen branches of learning.[51] Raj Singh[52] was himself a poet of high order. Ministers like Dungar Shah[53] and Garibdas were well-known patrons of learning who encouraged poets and writers. By the order of Purohit Garibdas inscriptions of the time of Rana Kumbha were collected in book form under the name of Prashasti Sangrah in 1670 A. D. by Sada Shiva.[54] It is a valuable work of its kind in Sanskrit.

While Sanskrit and Mewari had monopolised literature, as a result of popular interest in them, Persian language flourished in official correspondence. Kayasthas who were conversant with Persian and could interpret it in the spoken language of the Ranas, were specially appointed to responsible posts during the period. By virtue of their ability they rose to eminent positions, namely, Mahasani, Bakshi and Vazir of the state. Bhagchand, Goverdhan and Punja wete notable writers of the copper-plate grants given by the Ranas. Voluminous contemporary correspondence of private and official character preserved in the record office of the Ranas, portions of which have been published in Vir Vinod, Vol. II, shows how the elegant and ornate style of the Mughals was adopted in letters that were sent to the Mughal courts. The introduction of Persian in state correspondence influenced the court vocabulary in which many Persian words became common and are in existence to this day.

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[50] Oriental Conference, Proceedings 1933.

[51] Amar Bhushan in colophon records him as :

'चतुर्दश विद्या विनोद रसिक'

[52] Ojha : Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas, Vol. II. p. 580.

[53] Amarsar, 1st Adhikar, V. 270. F. 23 (b).

'जयति सुमति पूर्णो डुंगरोमात्यराजः'

[54] My paper in I. H. R. C. 1944, with the help of this Prashasti Sangraha I have recovered the full text of Slab No. 2, which is in a fragmentary state, in Victoria Hall Museum.

The Mughal contact also influenced the Rajput painting. A new impetus was given to the art by Karan Singh I who erected Chhoti Chitra Sali at Udaipur palace, decorated with secular and religious pictures and portraits in which the art, though essentially Hindu in character reveals assimilation of the Mughal style. Gradually the vigorous and spontaneous Rajput Kalam yielded to the fantastic colouring of Shah Jahan's time and the Badi-Chitra-Shali of Sangram Singh II (1710-1734 A. D.) is full of specimen of this florid painting. The large collection of paintings preserved in the Jotdan, the private picture gallery of the Ranas of Udaipur possesses some of the rarest pictures of that age. Among them the painting of Farrukhfal with a note, 'Asif-Khan-ro-beto', on the margin is the most interesting and one of the rare picures in India.[55]

During the same period calligraphy, the allied art of painting and writing was equally patronised in Mewar. Some of the manuscripts of Prithviraj Raso, Gita Govind, Gita, Bhagvat Puran and Ekaling Mahatmya copied during this period are still in a good state

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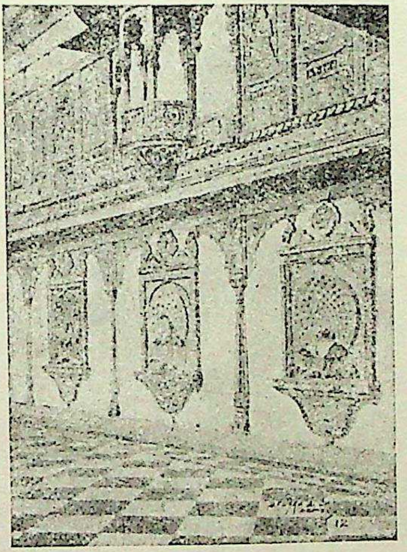
55. The painting of Farrukhfal is in the possession of the picture gallery of the Maharana. I discovered the painting from the 'Jotdan' and exhibited it at the session of I. H. R. C., 1944.

of preservation in Saraswati Bhandar Library, Udaipur and show the excellence of the hand of the calligraphists. Amarsar contains a fine drawing of circles of letters which illuminates the manuscript. Among the leading calligraphists the names of Jaswant, Purshottam, Nand Kishore, Man Sagar, Sardul and Sada Shiva are worth naming.

Thus when the horror of exhausting wars abated and gave them a little breathing space after 1615 A. D. the Ranas and the people of Mewar pursued the arts of peace with vigour and energy. They fully utilized the period of peace for encouraging local art and learning and adjusting them with the Mughal art. The result of the adjustment was the culture that stands to this day as a noble contribution of the mediaeval age.



Chhoti Chitrasali

## CHAPTER I

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### A. Persian Chronicles :—

1. Tuzuk-i-Babari, (S.B.L., Udaipur, MS. No. 173). The autobiography of Babur, variously known as Tuzuk-i-Babari, or Wakiat-i-Babari, or Baburnama, or Memoirs of Babur was originally written in Turki. It was translated into Persian in the middle of Akbar's reign by Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan. It was translated into English from Persian by Leyden and Erskine. Mrs. A.S. Beveridge has translated it from the original Turki MS. in possession of the Nizam of Hyderabad. This is the most authentic and accurate translation. In the present work the MS. and Beveridge's translation, Vol. I and II, 1921 have been used. The memoirs form one of the best and most faithful royal autobiographies. It is a faithful diary of Babur's life. The accounts given in the memoirs are sufficiently lucid and vivid. Baburnama, therefore, is our primary authority for the second chapter of this thesis, Rana Sanga and Babur. It has helped us immensely in fixing dates of the movement of Rana Sanga from Chitor to Bayana and from Bayana to Khanua and of his ultimate death. Baburnama also throws a flood of light on the condition of Mewar after Rana Sanga's death when Rani Karunavati, the widow of the deceased Rana sought help from Babur. In spite of its general accuracy all the statements of Babur are not faithful. His account of the alleged breach of faith on the part of Sanga has been examined along with his account of his

treaty with Daulat Khan Lodi and a conclusion has been drawn in the light of the descriptions as given by Babur in both the cases of alliances. His statement that he had only 12000 men at the battle of Panipat and similar number at Khanua has been found deliberately underestimated.

2. **Humayunnama** by Gulbadan Begam, translated by A.S. Beveridge, 1902. She is the only woman writer of the period. As a daughter of Babur and sister of Humayun her description shows a soft corner for them. Her accounts are more or less much indulged in the descriptions of ladies, parties, mirths and enjoyments and, therefore, she failed to record many important political developments of her time. She wrote about fifty years after the events had actually taken place. However, her memoirs help us in tackling important issues. Referring to the arrival of an astrologer at the battle of Khanua she gives the important fact about the contrivance of Babur to create confidence in his men who were feeling nervous. She informs us that a reinforcement of only 30 to 40 men had arrived from Kabul. But in order to show that they were a large body of men Babur sent 1,000 of his own troops at midnight to join them and bring them to the field. Similarly her description of Humayun's first going to Gwalior and coming to Agra and then going again for an engagement against Bahadur have been used with profit. Mirza Askari's revolt at Ahmadabad and his pursuit by Humayun which took a considerable time shows that Humayun had been to Chitor (8th June, 1536) in the course of his pursuit of his brother (who was there for May and half of June, 1536) and not to help the Rajputs who

had already taken possession of the fort without Humayun's assistance.

3. **Tezkirat-ul-Waqiyat,** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 136) by Jauhar, translated into English by Major Charles Stewart, 1832. The work begins from Humayun's accession and ends with his reinstallation on the throne. The book was written by his 'aftabchi', or oven-bearer, Jauhar. During the days of Humayun's adversities and successes, he was a constant attendant upon the emperor. His estimation for his master is so great that he hardly sees anything reproachable in him. As regards the selection of subject he gives undue importance to even ordinary event and makes no difference between a significant event and an insignificant event. But it must be admitted that he writes things with straightforwardness and honesty. As for example he gives us the details about Bahadur's request to Humayun not to interfere with him while he was engaged in a war against an infidel. He mentions that out of religious consideration the emperor gave up his pursuit against Bahadur. Humayun's inaction, Bahadur's invasion of Chitor and Humayun's engagement against Bahadur after his conquest of Chitor are the events which have been taken from this work.

4. **Humayunnama,** (S.B.L., Udaipur, MS. No. 175) by Khwandamir. His full name was Ghiyasuddin Khwandamir bin Humamuddin. His history, the Humayunnama is only useful for this work to refer to Humayun's visit to Gwalior,

5. **Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi,** (Extracts translated in Elliot's work, Vol. IV.) by Mushtaqi. It is a later work on the Lodi dynasty by Rizqullah Mushtaqi which was presented to Sikandar Sur.

In this work the victory of Ibrahim's force against Rana Sanga has been recorded. Throughout this work the author tries to praise every thing Afghan and undervalues every thing Hindu. This is not corroborated by other sources, particularly the local sources and hence I have rejected it.

6. **Akbarnama,** (Pheeroz Shah's personal Library, Udaipur, MS. Vol. II and Per. Text, N. K. Press, Lucknow). It is a celebrated work by Shaikh Abul Fazl Allami maintaining the events of the Mughal dynasty to the end of 46th year of the reign of Akbar (1602 A. D.). The work has been translated into English by Mr. H. Beveridge, published by the A. S. B. in three volumes. As a writer Abul Fazl stands urivalled. It is a most valuable chronicle of Akbar's reign. For official facts and dates it stands as a most valuable chronicle. It is a primary authority on the events that passed during Akbar's reign in relation to Mewar. I have taken the account of the last days of Sanga given in this book as reliable. I have mostly relied on this book in writing my chapters on Udai Singh and Akbar, and Rana Pratap and Akbar, in preference to Rajput sources, which were written much later. As for example I have placed reliance in Abul Fazl's statement for the death of Jaimal by a shot from Akbar's gun. The fact seems to be convincing because after this event there was confusion in the fort. Abul Fazl's description regarding the establishment of batteries at different points is sufficiently vivid and has enabled me to study the events of the siege more accurately. His accounts of three missions of peace sent to Rana Pratap before Haldighati are quite convincing. The cordial reception extended by the Rana to much lesser personages than Man Singh is a proof that the

accounts of the local bards regarding the insult to Man Singh at Udai Sagar are baseless. The subsequent invasions of the Mughals opening in Mewar from Haldighati to the end of Akbar's reign have been vividly given by Abul Fazl and have enabled us to establish facts on sound basis.

7. **Takmila-i-Akbarnama,** ( Extracts translated in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI. ) of Inayatullah. This is the supplement of the Akbarnama, containing the four remaining years of Akbar's reign. It furnishes for the present work the information for the last two invasions on Mewar under Salim which were conducted by the prince in a half-hearted manner.

8. **The Ain-i-Akbari,** ( Per. Text, Vol. I, and II, Aligarh, 1272 H. ) by Abul Fazl, translated into English by Blochmann (1873), Vol. I. and Jarrett Vol. II, (1894), and III, (1894) Bibliotheca Indica series and Vol. III by Sir J. N. Sarkar (1947) is the most useful storehouse of geographical and economic information. It has enabled us to know the fact as to how Akbar after his successful siege made Chitor a Sarkar of Mughal Empire and how the neighbouring territory of the Rana's dominions was divided into 24 parganas. Abul Fazl's account enables us to trace accurately the history of the subsequent events of the struggle between the Rana and the emperor.

9. **Tabaqat-i-Akbari,** ( Per. Text, N. K. Press, Lucknow) of Nizamuddin Ahmad. B. De has translated it in three volumes and which has been published in Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta. From Nizamuddin we know the exact number of men in the fort of Chitor when Rana Udai Singh had left it. Similarly Nizamuddin gives

the correct figure of the casualties at Chitor but the figures of casualties given by him at Haldighati are not clear. Nizamuddin records that Akbar gave an order for massacre after his victory at Chitor. Nizamuddin gives explicit reason of Akbar's invasion against Pratap, that was of keeping the road to Gujarat open which is more convincing than the cause given by Abul Fazl as Rana's pride, disobedience and stubbornness. Nizamuddin also praises the daring fight of Raja Ram Shah of Gwalior and Rana Pratap which shows his impartiality as a writer. He also frankly admits the difficulties of the supply of food to the imperial army at Gogunda when the Rana had successfully cut off all means of communication. The mid-night escape of the Rana from the fort of Kumbhalgarh has been recorded by Nizamuddin and his account is here more accurate than that of either Badaoni or Abul Fazl.

10. **Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh,** ( Per. Text, Vols. I, II, III, Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta) by Abdul Qadir Badaoni, translated into English by Ranking and Lowe. It is also frequently called Tarikh-i-Badaoni. It gives some new facts which are highly valuable. Badaoni was a Muslim and prejudiced against the Rajputs. But his account of Haldighati has helped us to understand the position of the Rana's forces and the engagement of various ranks in the fight. The flight of the imperialists and the rally of the Mughals by the cry of Mihtar Khan are the events which Badaoni has very cleverly mentioned to make the critical position of the Mughals clear to his readers. As regards the duration of the regular battle also Badaoni is clear which ceased at mid-day. The rest of the accounts of Akbar's relation with Mewar go exactly as given

by Nizamuddin. Sometimes he is inaccurate in describing the internal matters relating to Mewar. For example, he records the invasion of Bahadur against Rana Sanga instead of Rana Vikramaditya.

11. **Tarikh-i-Alfi,** ( Extracts translated in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI. ) This work comprehends a history of Mohammedan races upto the thousandth year of the Hijri era. Its compilation was directed by Akbar and was undertaken by Maulana Ahmad and several other learned men. It gives the information about Rana Udai Singh's flight and the provision of its defence made by the Rana. It also tells us how Akbar carried out a systematic survey of the land all round the fort and established various commanders at various posts. It clearly mentions that Jaimal was killed then and tore by the shot of Akbar's gun while supervising the work of the repairs of the walls of the fort. It also records the celebration of 'Jauhar' by the Rajput ladies. It also refers to plundering by the Mughals after the capture of the fort.

12. **Tarikh-i-Firishta,** (Per. Text, N. K. Press, Lucknow) written by Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah, and translated into English by Lieut. Col. Briggs. The work was written at the suggestion of Ibrahim Adil Shah, and so in his work we find a great space allotted to the description of the rulers of the south. It also gives a description of the events from the time of Babur to that of Akbar. As the author is not the eyewitness of the events of the Mughal period he is not to a great extent authentic. However, I am indebted to it as regards the stray verses exchanged between Humayun and Bahadur Shah, invasion of Chitor by Akbar, operation of mines and construction of Sabats. Firishta's account of Sher Shah's marching upto Chitor

is not correct and therefore I have rejected it and followed Abbas who is more reliable.

13. **Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi**, (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. in one Vol. No. 134) by Abbas Sarwani. The work is the most detailed history of the reign of Sher Shah. It was written at the command of Akbar, about 40 years after Sher Shah's death. As an Afghan himself and as a close associate with many other Afghans who were closely related to Sher Shah or served under him, Abbas had an opportunity to collect facts and describe them accurately. But as the events are based on hearsay and are taken for granted as handed down to him from a third person, there are some inconsistencies and contradictions. However, the account of Sher Shah's invasion of Chitor and the formal submission of the Rana by sending the key of the fort when Sher Shah was 12 'kos' away from the fort are invaluable. He rightly mentions that Shahamas Khan was appointed the governor of Chitor.

14. **Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana,** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 153) of Ahmad Yadgar. The author was an old servant of the Sur kings. He wrote the history of the Afghans by the order of Daud Shah. The book commences with the reign of Bahlol Lodi and ends with the execution of Himu. Yadgar's account of the victory of Ibrahim's forces over those of Rana Sanga is unreliable. The writer is not contemporary writer and his version goes against the more reliable version given by the local authorities.

15. **Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,** (Persian Text, Vol. I-II, Aligarh, 1864) or memoirs of the emperor himself. The first seventeen years of his reign were written by the emperor himself. Mutamid Khan to whom the task was entrusted by Jahangir,

who was suffering from ill-health brought it down to the beginning of the 19th year of his reign. It is translated into English by Rogers and H. Beveridge and published by the R. A. S. London, 1909 and 1914.

Jahangir's diary forms the prime authority for this thesis as regards his relation with Mewar. The emperor records that the second invasion that he undertook during his father's time proved a failure. He gives full accounts of the different commanders sent to Mewar time after time as Parviz, Mahabat, Abdullah and Khurram. All happenings in Mewar related to expeditions have been recorded. He admits with frankness the partial success of Parviz, Mahabat Khan and Abdullah. The Rana's submission has been mentioned by the emperor with special interest and the subsequent description of exchange of presents with Karan Singh and Kr. Jagat Singh have been described in great detail.

16. **Iqbalnama,** (Per. Text, Vol. I-II-III, N. K. Press, Lucknow). It is a history of the Timurid dynasty by Mutamid Khan till the end of Jahangir's reign. The 1st comes down to the reign of Babur and 2nd to Akbar and 3rd to the end of the reign of Jahangir. For the first eighteen years of Jahangir's reign the account is very often similar to that given in the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri.

The work furnishes additional information as regards Akbar's invasion where artillery-men from Kalpi fought on the Rana's side. This fact is also corroborated by Akbarnama. While describing prince Salim's appointment as a commander our writer gives sixty names of the important followers of the prince. Mutamid. Khan also gives the account of ruthless murder and imprisonment carried by Khurram in Mewar which no other contemporary writer does. He also describes Rana Amar Singh's interview with Khurram of which he was the eye-witness. His mention of the Rana's prostration before prince Khurram is incorrect and has been rejected. The interview was accomplished in a dignified manner.

17. **Maasir-i-Jahangiri** by Khvaja Kamgar, composed in the third year of Shah Jahan's reign. I have used its English translation of the Journal of Indian History, Vol. VIII and some extracts translated in Elliot, Vol. VI. The Maasir corroborates the accounts of Salim's invasion of Mewar and Khurram's successful progress. It also furnishes some accounts of Shah Jahan's rebellion and the daring acts of Kunwar Bhim in alliance with the rebel prince.

18. **Tatimma-i-Waqiat-i-Jahangiri,** (translation extracts of Elliot, Vol. VI) of Muhammad Hadi. It also helps us in knowing about the career of Kunwar Bhim who fought for the prince and ultimately met his end at Damdama.

19. **Mirat-i-Sikandari,** (S. B. L., Udaipur, P. T., No. 170) by Sikandar bin Ahmad, written in 1611 A. D. It gives a reliable account as regards the war between Rana Sanga and the rulers of Gujarat and is useful for our period.

20. **Badshahnama,** (Extracts translated in Elliot and Dowson Vol. VII) of Mirza Aminai Qazvini. It is an official history of Shah Jahan's reign. He entered the imperial service in the 5th year of Shah Jahan's reign. His first work on the description of Aurangzib's fight with the elephant Sudhakar was highly commended by the emperor. His second work of Bundela's rebellion brought him the dignity of a court historian. He continued to fill this post till the 10th year

of his reign when he was removed due to the jealousy of his rivals.

The Badshahnama of Qazvini though simple and lucid is a partial account. The account of the rebellion of Shah Jahan has been briefly given and it is of little value for the present work.

21. **Badshahnama,** (Per. Text, Vol. I-II, Bibliotheca Indica, 1867) of Abdul Hamid Lahauri. It is a work by another historian named Abdul Hamid Lahauri. The work was completed on Nov. 9, 1648. It covers 20 years of his (Shah Jahan) reign. The account of the first 10 years is a mere repetition of Qazvini's work. The other half is important. It gives account of Shah Jahan's invasion of Chitor and the Rana's submission.

22. **Shah Jahannama,** (Some extracts translated in Elliot, Vol. VII) of Inayat Khan. It covers Shah Jahan's reign from 1627 to 1654 A. D. The account of the first 20 years agrees with the Badshahnama of Lahauri. The author informs us that when the forces were sent against Rana Jagat Singh, he begged pardon of him and so the forces of the Mughals were withdrawn. But Rana Raj Singh again commenced repairs and so Wazir Sadullah Khan was sent against him who demolished the repaired parts and returned to Agra. The Rana also sent Kr. Jai Singh and made peace with the emperor.

23. **Amal-i-Salih,** (MS. S. B. L.,) by Muhammad Salih Kambu. The author wrote a detailed history of Shah Jahan's reign and completed it in 1659. It gives description of the invasion of Chitor, Rana Raj Singh's submission and prince Jai Singh's visit to the court and exchange of presents.

24. **Khulasa-i-Shah Jahannama,** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 148) by Zahid Khan. The author wrote it by the orders of Muazzam to give briefly the account of Shah Jahan's reign as given by Qazvini and Lahauri. The work has been used to describe Shah Jahan's invasion against the Rana, Wazir Sadullah's demolition of the repairs of the fort of Chitor, visits of the crown prince to the court and the war of succession.

25. **Insha-i-Chandra Bhan,** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 50) by Chandra Bhan. His four letters as preserved in the MS. written to Shah Jahan by Chandra Bhan from Udaipur are highly useful for tracing the relation between the emperor and Rana Jagat Singh I.

26. **Alamgirnama,** (Per. Text, Bibliotheca Indica, 1868) by Mirza Muhammad Kasim. It is an official history of first ten years of the reign of Aurangzib. When it was dedicated and presented to Aurangzib, he forbade its continuation. It is verbose and flattering, though its facts are highly useful for history. I have found it useful. It refers to the early relation of the Rana with Aurangzib. It records the restoration by Aurangzib of the parganas of Mandal, Badnor and Mandalgarh to the Rana.

27. **Maasir-i-Alamgiri,** (Per. Text, Bibliotheca Indica, 1870-73) of Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan. It covers the whole of Alamgir's time. It is indebted for the first ten years to Alamgirnama and the rest is original. The author is an eye-witness of the several events described by him. Some of the events mentioned therein, I have found very useful for my purpose for instance, such events as Aurangzib's occupation of Jodhpur, destructive measures adopted in Mewar, fall of Deobari in Mewar, ruthless destruction

in Udaipur, Prince Azam's expedition in the interior of Mewar, Prince Akbar's transfer for his inactivity at Chitor, the terms of the treaty between Mewar and the Mughal empire after the failure of Akbar's revolt.

28. **Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,** ( Per. Text, Vols. I-II, Bibliotheca Indica series) of Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan. It begins from Babur and ends at the 14th year of Muhammad Shah's reign. He privately compiled the events of Aurangzib's reign and made them public after the monarch's death. It gives a good account of Khurram's invasion of Mewar. Its account of Aurangzib's relation with Mewar is very important. It records the Rana's measure for the evacuation of Udaipur, Azam's expedition to the interior of Mewar and Rana's tactics of blocking the passes. It also gives the strength of the Rathor troops as 25,000. This work also records the peace negotiation first opened with Muazzam by the Rana and then with prince Akbar. It also records the clever device of the emperor to deprive prince Akbar of Tahavvur Khan and the Rathors by dropping forged letters.

29. **Mirat-i-Ahmadi,** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. Vols. I-III, No. 167) by Ali Muhammad Khan, the last Mughal Diwan of Gujarat. It gives an account of the Rana Sanga's conflicts with Muzaffar Shah II, the ruler of Gujarat, Bahadur's invasion of Chitor, the terms of the treaty between the Rana and Bahadur Shah, Kunwar Bhim and Shah Jahan and Aurangzib's war against Raj Singh. These events have been found useful.

30. **Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Chaghtai**, (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. Vols. I-II ; No. 157) by Muhammad Hadi Kanwar Khan. It deals with the early history of this dynasty and goes down to the reign of Muhammad Shah. It is divided in two volumes,

the first goes upto Jahangir's death and second comes down to Muhammad Shah's reign. Though it is not a contemporary work, it gives at places additional information and so I have quoted its events such as Kishan Singh sent by Jahangir to congratulate Rana Karan on his accession, devastation at Udaipur by Azam and prince Akbar transferred to Marwar from Chitor. It gives some additional information as regards Aurangzib's new plan after prince Akbar's transfer to harass the Rana from different sides.

31. **Maasir-ul-Umara,** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. Vols. I-II, Nos. 113-114) by Shah Nawaz Khan. It is a biographical dictionary of the Mughal nobles from the days of Babur to the eighth decade of the 18th century. The work has been published by Asiatic Society, Bengal in three parts and some parts in alphabetical order have been translated by Beveridge. This work has helped me to give at places the life of the important Mughal nobles who were employed in campaigns in Mewar.

## B. Letters and Farmans :

1. **A Farman** from Jahangir to Rana Amar Singh (1615)refers to the treaty made and confers honours on the Rana. It is preserved in the confidential office of the Maharana. Its Hindi translation has been given in the Vir Vinod, Part II.

2. **Four letters of Aurangzib** (1658) written from the Deccan to the Rana, requesting help in his war of succession against his father. They are in a fairly good state of preservation in the confidential office of the Maharana.

3. **A Farman from Muazzam** to Dolat Singh of Shahpura on 27th Nov. 1680 from Muazzam instructing him to remain loyal to the Mughals.

Dr. Raghubir Singh of Sitamau has procured a copy from Shahpura.

4. **A Farman from Aurangzib**, dated 23rd Feb. 1681, to Jai Singh. Its Hindi translation has been given in the Vir Vinod, II.

5. **A Farman from Aurangzib,** dated 18th July, 1681, to the Rana confirming the treaty entered into by him. Dr. Raghubir Singh has a copy in his possession.

C. **Inscriptions :**

(a) Sanskrit.

1. Early Inscriptions for this period—

Aparajit Inscription (V. S. 718), Sarnath Inscription (V. S. 1010), Kumbhalgarh Inscription (V. S. 1517), Chirwa Inscription (V. S. 1330) and Ekaling Inscription (V. S. 1545) have been utilized in tracing references to the events pertaining to the early history of Mewar.

2. **Jagannath Rai Inscription,** Sanskrit Text.

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXIV, dated 15th of the bright-half of Vaishakh, V. S. 1709 (13th May, 1652 A. D.). It is fixed on both the sides of the passage leading into the Sabha Mandap of the Jagannath Rai temple of Udaipur. It gives the actual time of the commencement of the battle of Haldighati. The next important information that it furnishes is the expedition of Kunwar Karan Singh to Sironj. It also mentions Jagat Singh's expedition to Dungarpur. It was composed by Laxmi Nath, better known as Babu Bhatt, a Tailanga Brahmin of Kathundi.

3. **Raj Prashasti Mahakavya,** Sanskrit Text, dated 15th of the bright-half of Magh, V. S. 1732 (1676 A. D.). It is an epic poem in 24 cantos,

engraved on 25 slabs, each slab containing a canto and the preliminary slab containing laudatory verses. These slabs are fixed in the niches of the embankment of the Raj Samudra lake, constructed by Maharana Raj Singh. It deals with the history of the Maharanas from Bapa to Raj Singh. It is a primary authority from the time of Jagat Singh when its writer Ranchoda Bhatt was his contemporary. Its description of the meeting of Rana Pratap and Sakta at Haldighati is not reliable. It gives certain very important information about Jagat Singh's invasion of Dungarpur and the meeting of Sadullah Khan and the Rana's men at Chitor. This Kavya informs us that prince Akbar was also willing to make peace with the Rana because daily 400 men of his camp were deserting him and there was shortage of food in his camp. The writer gives full details of the meeting of Jai Singh and prince Azam at Jai Samudra to ratify the treaty.

4. **Dhaya ka Devra Inscription,** Sanskrit Text, dated V. S. 1732 (1676 A. D.). It deals with Shah Jahan's stay at Udaipur and his wars with Mewar.

5. **Deobari Inscription,** Sanskrit Text, dated V. S. 1732 (1676 A. D.). It deals with the wars of Sadullah Khan and refers to Rup Singh's (Kishangarh) high position in the Mughal rank, whose daughter was married by Rana Raj Singh.

(b) Mewari and Hindi.

1. **Rupnarain Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 7th of the dark-half of Jaishtha, V. S. 1561 (1504). It records the death of Rathor Bida who died there fighting for Sanga who was closely pursued by his enemies.

2. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 4th of the bright-half of Ashad, V. S. 1565 (2nd

July, 1508 A. D.). The plate has been referred to Rana Sanga's accession in V. S. 1565 and not V. S. 1566 as given by Nensi and Ojha.

3. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 12th of the bright-half of Vaishakh, V. S. 1576 (11th April, 1519 A D.). It refers to the Sultan's (Mahmud II) capture by a Chundawat with the help of 300 horse (No. 26/144, Photograph, C. O. U.).

4. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 1st of the dark-half of Vaishakh, V. S. 1582 (8th May, 1525 A. D.). It records the collection of money by Shri Dhar from the tributary states under Rana Sanga. It throws light over his power before the battle at Khanua. (Photograph No. 26/144, 2, C. O. U.).

5. **Two Copper plates,** Mewari Text, one dated 12th of the dark-half of Phalgun, V. S. 1587 (24th Feb. 1530 A. D.) of Ratan Singh, and another dated 7th of the dark-half of Ashad, V. S. 1589 (25th June, 1532 A. D.) of Vikramaditya. With the help of both these plates the probable date of the death of Ratan Singh has been deduced.

6. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 30th of the dark-half of Bhadva of V. S. 1589 (13th August, 1532). It records the name of Vikramaditya's minister Shah Madha. (Photograph 26/47. C. O. U.)

7. **Two Copper-plate Inscriptions,** Mewari Text, one dated 5th of the bright-half of Kartik, V. S. 1594 (9th October, 1537 A. D.) and another dated 15th of the bright-half of Kartik V. S. 1594 (18th Oct. 1537 A. D.) They show that Rana Udai Singh was recognised by that time the

Rana at Kumbhalgarh while Vanbir was ruling at Chitor. (Nos. 306 (2) C. O. U.)

8. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 1st of bright-half of Jaishtha V. S. 1597 (7th May 1540 A. D.) It records a victory of Udai Singh probably against Vanbir. (No. 26/B/133. C.O.U.)

9. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 30th of dark-half Magh V. S. 1616 (8th June, 1559 A. D.) It records the completion of Udai Sagar by that time. (No. 796, C. O. U.)

10. **Copper-plate Inscriptions,** Mewari Text, of Udai Singh's time between V. S. 1616 to V. S. 1628 show his scheme of transferring his population to Girwa away from Chitor and its environs for defending his subjects and populating the part near his new capital Udaipur. Nos. of the plates of C. O. U. are :—

    760, 759, 745, 752, 717, 818, 666, 680, 651, 429, 394, 429, 430, 435, 454, 492, 565, 572, 786, 598, 786, 618, 13, 12, 65, 78, 104, 157, 151, 183, 190, 198, 205, 204, 222, 265 etc.

11. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 15th of the bright-half of Kartik V. S. 1631 (29th Oct. 1574 A. D.) It records the grant of land by Rana Pratap to Joshi Puno to keep watch over the Haldighati by posting him as a head of cavalry. It shows the preparations of the Rana before the battle. (No. 214 of C. O. U.)

12. **Two Copper-plate Inscriptions,** Mewari Text, dated 5th of the bright-half of Kartik V. S. 1633 (25th Nov. 1576 A.D) They show that Rana during this period was at Kumbhalgarh and was busy in his administrative work after the battle of Haldighati.

13. **Surkhand-inscription,** Hindi Text, dated 11th of the bright-half of Jaishtha V. S. 1642 (27th June, 1585 A. D.) It records Rana Pratap's victory against Rathors and the occupation of their land in Chhappan.

14. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 15th of the bright-half of Kartik V. S. 1645 (24th Oct. 1588 A. D.). It shows that Rana Pratap had occupied the land in Pander, near Jahazpur.

15. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated the 7th of the bright-half of Jaishtha, V. S. 1662 (15th May, 1605 A. D.) It shows the early measures of Amar Singh to rehabilitate the deserted part of Kelwa (near Kumbhalgarh district) (No. 343 C. O. U.)

16. **Rampol Inscription,** ( Chitor ), Mewari Text, dated 15th of the bright-half of Asoj, V. S. 1678 (20th Sept. 1621 A. D.) It shows that in Mewar pargana division was taken up in a systematic way from the time of Rana Karan Singh as Mandalgarh, Phutayaro, Bhinavdo, etc.

17. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 2nd of the dark-half of Ashad, 1689 (23rd June, 1632 A. D.) It records the systematic division of land in 'Siyalu' and 'Unalu' and mentions the division of land in both words and figures (No. 683, C. O. U.)

18. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 4th of the dark-half of Bhadrapad, V. S. 1709 (11th Sep. 1652 A. D.) It records the pilgrimage of the mother of Jagat Singh to Prayag. (No. 477, C. O. U.)

19. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 14th of the dark-half of Asoj, V. S. 1714 (11th

Oct. 1657 A. D.) of Raj Singh's early measure of rehabilitating. (No. 128/25, C. O. U.)

20. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 14th of the bright-half of Vaishakh, V. S. 1724 (27th April, 1667 A. D.) It records the grant of land to Pitha, the leader of Bhils. (No. 94. Jagir. S. 91. C. O. U.)

21. **Deobari-gate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 5th of the bright-half of Shravan, V. S. 1731 (25th Aug. 1674 A. D.) It records the fixing of the door to the Deobari gate, a measure of defence of the Girwa.

22. **Bedvas Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated V. S. 1732 (1675 A. D.) It deals with Raj Singh's expedition to Banswara and Dungarpur. It gives the names of several ministers who served the state.

23. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 8th of the dark-half of Kartik, V. S. 1734 (9th Oct. 1677 A. D.) It is an order to the pargana officer for free grant of land in Rageda to Bhim. (26/10 B, C. O. U.)

24. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 13th of the bright-half of V. S. 1859. It records the establishment of village Sayara and the attached Khera in Kumbhalgarh district by Kunwar Amar Singh in V. S. 1630 (1573 A. D.)

25. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 10th of the bright-half of Ashad, V. S. 1891. It is an inscription of Rana Jawan Singh's time, but it records that in Lakhola Rana Amar Singh I, granted land in connection with his scheme of rehabilitating the country.

26. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 5th of the dark-half of Ashad, V. S. 1892. It

is an inscription of Jawan Singh's time, but it records the grant of land in Muroli in Girwa by Rana Amar Singh I, as a part of his scheme of rehabilitation.

## D. Letters, Literature and Khyats :

(a) Letters in Mewari :—

1. A file No. 20/11. S. 93. In the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur recently discovered by me shows that Akbar conferred on 23rd, Ramjan, H. 982 (1575 A. D.) villages Rayala, Katdi, Arneta and Kanya of Hurda, Shahpura and Badnor districts on the Dargah of Ajmer from the territory of Mewar which fell to his possession after the victory of Chitor in 1568 A. D. The file further adds that Mewar took possession of these places during the wars of Rana Pratap and Amar Singh. Shah Jahan again conferred them on the Dargah. But during Jagat Singh or Raj Singh's time it seems that they were again occupied. It was Rana Jagat Singh II (1734-1751 A. D.) who again gave them back and since they are in the Jagirs of the Dargah.

2. **A Patta of Jagat Singh,** Mewari Text, dated 15th of the bright-half of V. S. 1707 (1650 A. D.). It is a kind of general circular order of Jagat Singh that I recently discovered in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur (vide Photo-plate 26/240, file S. 95). It records that all the pargana officers and Jagirdars should stop taking forced work from Dohaliyas(free land holders),Sarapies(Kalals) and Bolawas (escorts). They were also instructed not to collect military contribution in the form of milk, curd, beddings and wood etc.

3. **A Patta of Raj Singh,** Mewari Text, dated 8th of the dark-half of Kartik, V. S. 1734 (9th Oct., 1677 A. D. by Amatya reckoning). It is a patta

addressed to the pargana officer not to demand 'Bhog' of winter crop from Dangi Bhima.

(b) Sanskrit Literature.

1. **Amarsar,** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 709), by Pt. Jivadhar, Sanskrit Text in verse, dated V. S. 1685 (1628 A. D.). It is a historical Kavya which deals with the history of Rana Pratap, Amar Singh I and Rana Karan Singh. It was completed during the reign of Karan Singh and was written during the reign of Amar Singh I, with whose name the work is associated. It is mainly divided into five chapters and these chapters are again sub-divided into parts dealing with different topics concerning the events of the reign of the respective Ranas. As a contemporary work of Rana Amar Singh I and Karan Singh I its historical value is undeniable. It informs us of the peace and order during Rana Pratap's later period. As regards Amar Singh's administrative measures the work is a store-house of information. The writer frankly writes about the luxurious life of Rana Amar Singh into which he indulged in his later days after the conclusion of peace with the Mughals in 1615 A. D. The work has been used by me for the first time.

2. **Amar Bhushan,** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No 545). It is a MS. written during the time of Amar Singh I which is clear from the colophon. But unfortunately the name of the writer is not given. It is a work on Astronomy in which, it seems, Rana Amar Singh was interested. It does not throw light on political history. The work has been used by me for the first time.

3. **Jagat Singh Kavya,** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 715) by Raghunath, the contemporary of Jagat Singh. It is mainly a historical Kavya dealing

with the reign of Jagat Singh I. It is a work of nine cantos dealing with different events of the early Ranas and then Jagat Singh's love for learning, his foreign policy, his attitude towards law and order, religious tour to Banaras and Mathura and the administrative measures as regards collection of revenue and laws regarding punishment. The work has been used by me for the first time.

4. **Jagat Simhastaka,** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 1304) by Mohan Bhatt in eight verses. It is mainly a literary piece but here and there it furnishes some facts of historical value, as for example, Jagat Singh's founding of charitable institutions, mild administration and helping needy persons with food and clothing. The writer was a contemporary of Jagat Singh I. It also remains as an unexplored work.

5. **Amarkavya Vanshavali,** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS.) by Ranchoda Bhatt, the writer of Raj Prashasti and contemporary of Jagat Singh and Raj Singh. It was written just after the completion of Raj Prashasti in V. S. 1732. The writer has attempted the history of Mewar from Bapa to Raj Singh's time. I have examined the greater details of this work in the proceedings of I. H. R. C. of 1946. It gives the actual place of the battle of Haldighati at Rakta Tal which is also corroborated by Badaoni. It also throws light on various places in which Pratap took shelter during the days of his fight against the Mughals. Kr. Karan's invasion of Sironj and Khurram's stay at Udaipur are also mentioned in it. The destruction of Chitor by Sadullah Khan has also been given by the writer. Much of the political history of Raj Singh's time has been dropped by the writer as it is mentioned in Raj Prashasti.

6. **Raj Ratnakar**, (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No 718). It is another poetical work written in Manuscript by Sada Shiva during Raj Singh's reign in V. S. 1733. It is divided in 22 cantos and deals with the history of Mewar from early days of Bapa to Raj Singh's time. Though it is not a contemporary work of Rana Pratap's time, it furnishes valuable information as regards the Bhils' fight and their plundering the enemy's camp after the termination of the battle at mid-day which is not unlikely. For Raj Singh's time it is a most valuable source of information. It gives details of the Rana's expedition to the lost part of the dominions in Mewar when the war of succession among Shah Jahan's sons was in progress. Similarly it gives an account of Dara's letter which the Rana received at his camp of Kekri. It also furnishes sufficient information about Raj Samudra's completion ceremony and the religious tours of the royal family to Banaras during his period. It has also been used by me for the first time.

7. **Other Sanskrit works** : (S.B. L., Udaipur, MS.). There are several other MS. in S. B. L., Udaipur like Amar Vilas, Amar Bhushan, No. 545, Raj Simhastaka of Mukand, No. 1303, Raj Ratnakar of Dhundhi Raj, No. 907, Mandalik Mahakavya, No. 1511, by Gangadhar and Raj Vallabh, No. 1562, by Nandan which are of literary value. Though they are not important for political history they are valuable as they give us an idea of the progress of Sanskrit literature, the character and taste of the Ranas, the names of various writers and poets of the period and the art of calligraphy of the time.

(c) Khyats and Bardic literature.

This includes, Khyats. or Vanshavalis bardic songs or poems written in Mewari or Hindi. They mostly belong to the 17th century A. D. Their lack of dates, confusion in the order of events, abundance of supernatural episodes and gossipy tales make them unreliable as chronicles of the time. Hence proper care has been shown to accept only what appeals as historical and the rest of the matter has been rejected. The greater part of this source is used by me for the first time.

1. **Davavet,** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 978). It is a part of a big MS. which contains materials of various character. It informs us that at the invasion of Chitor by Akbar the council of nobles and leading men of the fort advised Rana Udai Singh to leave the fort. It appears to be the work of Udai Singh's time because it ends with Udai Singh and it looks in a most decayed state.

2. **Vanshavali Suryathi,** (S. B. L., Udaipur MS. No. 207). It is a part of a MS. of 400 folios. It gives the genealogy of the Ranas of Mewar from Brahma to Udai Singh's time. In the list of the Ranas it does not include the name of Vanbir as he was an usurper.

3. **Nensi's Khyat,** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 701). It is a Manuscript copy of the original Khyat from Bikaner. The writer of this Khyat, Nensi was a Prime Minister of Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur. He tried to collect the traditional or written accounts known to Rajasthan before his time. Of all the Khyats hitherto known Nensi's Khyat is most exhaustive and to some extent reliable in comparison to other Khyats. Though Nensi is the contemporary to Rana Jagat Singh and Raj Singh he has not paid much attention to the happenings in Mewar. A few

references for the early history have been taken from it. Nensi tells us that at the battle of Haldighati the Rana's forces were encamped in a village named Lohsing and that of Man Singh at Molela. He also informs us that the Rana was informed of the arrival of the imperial army by his spies, Dursa Purbia and Net Singh.

4. **Raj Prakash,** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 353) by Kishore Das. It consists of 61 folios in verse and gives an account from Bapa to Raj Singh's time. It is a contemporary work of Raj Singh's reign. Its account of the victory of Ontala is convincing. The writer does not mention the exaggerated story of the fight of Chundawats and Saktawats, but gives simple events of its occupation. He refers to Bagh's retaliation against Mahabat Khan, the Rana's treaty with Khurran, and Tikador festival of Rana Raj Singh.

5. **Raj Vilas,** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No 354) by Man Kavi. He was a contemporary poet of Raj Singh's time. He has given a full account of Raj Singh in the exaggerated style of a Hindi poet. However, Raj Vilas stands as a useful source of Raj Singh's history. It has been found of use for the Tikador ceremony of Raj Singh, Rupmati's letter, the excavation of Raj Samudra lake and the measure of famine relief. As the writer was a contemporary of Jagat Singh, he has given the departmental division of the state's administration during Jagat Singh's time.

6. **Granth Vanshavali,** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 209) by Maharaj Gopal Das. It gives the history of Mewar from Bapa's time to that of Rana Raj Singh. It invariably gives the strength of the Rana's army. I have used it for quoting the number of forces in possession of Raj Singh,

7. **Vanshavali,** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 878). It also gives a brief account of the Ranas of Mewar. At places it gives the names of the mothers of the Ranas.

8. **Vanshavali Ranajini,** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 607). It is a manuscript of 151 folios. It gives in a brief manner the account of the Ranas, from Bapa to Raj Singh. It says that Sanga died as the result of poison given to him by his minister. It also furnishes us with the strength of Rana Pratap's army at Haldighati.

9. **Rawal Ranaji ki Vat**, (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 876). The MS. consists of 125 folios. Unlike other Khyats the author has given details of the wars in a lucid manner. It records events based on tradition as Rani Karmeti's appeal to Humayun for help, dissatisfied nobles of Mewar and their visit to Bahadur's court, Kr. Bagh's retaliation and Rupmati's marriage. The feast of Udai Sagar to Man Singh has been given in in this Khyat only and therefore it has been rejected.

10. **Sisod Vanshavali**, (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 867). It is a MS. of 56 folios, tracing the genealogy of the Ranas from Vishnu Nabh and coming down to Rana Sambhu Singh. Upto Raj Singh the MS. bears one hand and further it is carried down by different hands. It refers to Rupmati's letter.

11. **Suryavansh,** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 827). It gives the account from Brahma to Raj Singh in one hand and from Jai Singh to Jawan Singh in different hands. It corroborates the story of Khurram's stay in Mewar.

12. **Tawarikh Vanshavali,** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 872). It is a MS. of 53 folios and deals with genealogy of the Ranas from the beginning of Rana to the time of Jawan Singh. At places it has been quoted to give the approximate number of Rajput army fighting against the Mughals.

13. **Vanshavali,** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 882). It begins from Vishnu Nabh and comes down to Rana Sajjan Singh. It has been used as a corroborative source to other Khyats.

14. **Phutkar Gita,** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 717). It gives several songs concerning the valour of the Ranas. A few quotations of the songs have been given from this MS. as regards the valour of Sanga and Pratap.

15. **Gita Sangrah,** ( My personal MS.). It is a collection of songs made by me from various places in Mewar. A few songs have been quoted relating to the valour of Rana Sanga, Pratap and Raj Singh.

16. **Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas,** (S. B. L., Udiapur, MS. No. 921) by Akshya Nath. It is a modern work posterior to Vir Vinod by the family priests of the Ranas who used to keep daily diaries of their masters. It appears from the MS. that one of the ancestors of the writer, named Vageshwar fell fighting at the battle of Khanua. The opening of negotiation by Babur and not by Sanga has been taken from this work.

## E. Paintings :

1. **Rana Sanga's portrait,** (Jotdan, Udaipur) 15"x12". It is in the collection of the private picture gallery of the Maharana of Udaipur. The portrait bears all signs of antiquities.

2. **Rana Pratap's portrait,** (Jotdan, Udaipur) 17"x12". It is in the collection of the private picture gallery of the Maharana of Udaipur. The portrait though does not bear any date, appears to be quite an old one.

3. **Painting of Haldighati,** (Jotdan, Udaipur) 4"x6". It is in the collection of the private picture gallery of the Maharana of Udaipur. It is in a sufficient worn out state and at many places the colour is also decaying. It shows the arrangement of Bhils on the hills and the engagement of the Rajput army and the Mughal forces by the side of the rivar Banas. I am in possession of its photograph.

4. **Rana Pratap and Sakta meet,** ( Golmahal, Udaipur). It is a picture of recent art and as no other picture from Jotdan of this type has been noticed the story has been rejected on this and other grounds.

5. **Prithviraj writing a letter,** ( Lakshmi Vilas palace, Udaipur). It is also a portrait of recent art and as no other old picture from Jotdan of this type has been noticed the story of Prithvi Raj's letter on this and other grounds has been rejected.

6. **Portrait of Farrukhfal,** ( Jotdan, Udaipur ) 16"x20".It is also one of the rare pictures in India which bears at the margin 'Farrukhfal' 'Asaf Khan-ko-beto.' Four such portraits have been noticed as yet, one in Delhi Fort Museum, Exhibit No. H. 265; another in the photograph Album No. C 198 of the same museum ; the third in the Calcutta Museum, Exhibit No. 14436. It is the fourth of its kinds which was exhibited by me in the I. H. R. C. 1945. It is a peculiar

example of the Mughal painting that flourished at Udaipur. (For the description of the Delhi and Calcutta paintings see Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, PP. 239-240).

F. **Modern Works**—(a) Hindi :

1. **Vir Vinod,** by Kaviraj Shyamal Das. It is a most exhaustive work pertaining to the history of Rajputana based on Persian and Rajput sources. For the Mughal farmans as preserved in confidential office, Udaipur which is not open to all, it stands as a useful source of reference. It also preserves several slab inscriptions on the history of Mewar. The work suffers from the fact that it hardly examines any authority used by it. For the present work, however, Vol. I-II have been found of great value.

2. **Munshi Devi Prasad's works.** His works on Babur, Sanga, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzib are of high value for the study of this period.

3. **Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas,** Vol. I-II by Ojha. It offers many details from the Rajput point of view and has been helpful.

4. **Rajputana ka Itihas,** by Ojha. It deals in different volumes the history of Jodhpur, Sirohi, Dungarpur, Banswara and Pratapgarh. The series have helped us in understanding various details connected with Mewar.

5. **Nensi's Khyat,** Nagari Pracharini Sabha's edition.

(b) English :

1. **The History of India as told by its own historians**—by Elliot and Dowson, Vols. I-VII.

2. **Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan,** by Tod, Vols. I-III based on traditions and Khyats should be read with caution.

3. **The Cambridge History of India,** (Vol. III and IV 1937).

4. **An Empire Builder of the 16th Century,** by Rushbrook Williams, 1918).

5. **Babur,** (1899) by Lane-Poole.

6. **Rana Sanga,** (Scottish Missionary Industries, Ajmer, 1918) by Har Bilas Sarda. The book gives a critical presentation of Rajput view point for the conflict between Babur and Sanga.

7. **Rajput Studies,** A. C. Banerjee, Calcutta, 1944.

8. **Erskine's History of India,** under Babur and Humayun, Part I-II.

9. **Humayun,** (Oxford U. P., 1938), by S. K. Banerji.

10. **Sher Shah,** (Calcutta, 1921), by K. Qanungo.

11. **Sher Shah,** (Agra, 1950), by Dr. A. L. Srivastava.

12. **Arabic History of Gujarat,** edited by E. Denison Ross. It is a valued work for the study of the relations of Rana Sanga with Gujarat.

13. **Ras Mala,** (London, 1866) by Forbes.

14. **History of Gujarat,** (London, 1886), by Bayley.

15. **Akbar the Great Mogal,** (Oxford, Calender Press, 1919), by V. A. Smith.

16. **Pratap,** (Lahore), by S. R. Sharma.

17. **Maharana Pratap Singh,** (Calcutta), by S. C. Mitra and Ghosh.

18. **Jahangir,** (O. U. P. 1922), by Beni Prasad.

19. **History of Shah Jahan of Delhi,** (Indian Press, Allahabad, 1932), by Banarsi Prasad.

20. **Aurangzib,** (Calcutta, 1921), by Sir J. N. Sarkar, Vol. III.

21. **Glories of Marwar and Glorious Rathors,** by Pt. V. N. Rau.

22. **Mediaeval India and Muslim Rule in India,** (Allahabad, 1928) by Dr. Ishwari Prasad.

23. **European Travellers,** Sir Thomas Roe to India (Ed. W. Foster, 1926); Bernier's travels. Ed. Constable, 1914; Tavernier's travels, Ed. V. Ball, (1889) and Storia do Mogor by N. Manucci, Irvin, 1907.

24. **The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India,** 1819 by Nando Lal Dey.

25. **Indian Ephemeries,** Vols. V and VI. (Madras).

G. **Journals and Reviews :**

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II and Vol. XXIV.
Journals of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vols. VII, XIV, XLIV, LVI.

The Punjab Historical Society, Vol. II, 1914.

Indian Historical Journal, Vol. VIII.

Proceedings of I. H. R. C. 1944, 45, 46.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa. R. Society Vol. I, 1924.

Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports, 1920, 1921-1922.

H. **Imperial Gazetteers** of Rajputana, Ajmer-Merwara, U. P., C. P. and Mewar Residency Gazetteers have been used.

I. **Maps.** In providing maps and finding exact location of places of villages in Mewar sketch maps of Boundry Settlement Mewar of Rajasthan Govt. have been studied.

## APPENDIX I

One of the forged Copper-plates of Rana Raimal, No. 16 of Commissioner's Office, Udaipur, cap-shaped plate—letters not well cut.

रामो जयति

श्री गणेषजी प्रसादातु श्री एकलिंगजी प्रसादातु

भाला

सही

सधत्र श्री महाराणाजी रत्रमलजी
का दत्त वमण पताजी..............
बीघा ६५ सुरज परब मह दत्ता
..............................

समत् १४४४ का मतो..........
..............................

## APPENDIX II

Copper-plate Inscription (Photograph-26/144 C.O.U.) dated the 1st of the dark-half of Vaishakh, V. S. 1582.

(8th May, 1525 A.D.)

श्री रामो जयति

श्री गणेष प्रसादातु श्री एकलिंग प्रसादातु

भाला

सही

महाराजाधिराज महाराणा श्री सागा आदेसातु ॥ घाम वटेरी कस्य श्रीधर योगा आघाट उदके सरव हते दुजा (रजा) दंड करलीक देता पहुंचा व्यामि महे आघाट दत्ता संवत् १५८२ वर्षे बैसाक वदि १

सुक्र—श्रीमुषे लिषत साह गरधर पंचोली धाला रा स्वदत्त परदत्त वा यो हरति वसुधरा षष्टि वर्षे सहस्राणि बिष्टाया जायते क्रमि

## APPENDIX III

Copper-plate Inscription (Photograph-No. 26/133 C. O. U., dated 5th of the bright-half of Kartik, V. S. 1633.

(25th November, 1576 A. D.)

श्री रामो जयति

श्री गणेषजी प्रसादातु श्री एकलिंगजी प्रसादातु

भाला

सही

महाराजाधिराज महाराणा श्री प्रतापसीघ आदेशात् आचार्य वालाजी बा किसन दास बलभद्र कस्य गाम १ संथाणो मया कीधो उदके आघाटे दत्ता कुंभलमेर मध्ये संवत् १६३३ वर्षे भादवा सुदी ५ रवौ श्रीमुष प्रति हुकम दीदो रायजी साह भामो पहला पतर बले गुयो लुट्यो गयो सुनवो करे मया कीधो—

## APPENDIX IV

Copper-plate Inscription No. 368 C. O. U., dated 15th of the bright-half of Kartik, V. S. 1645.

(24th October, 1588 A. D.)

श्री रामो जयति

श्री गणेष प्रसादातु श्रा एकलिगजी प्रसादातु

भाला

सही

सिधश्री महाराजाधिराज महाराणाजी श्री प्रतापसीघजी आदेशातु तिवाडी सादुल नाथण भवान काना गोपाल टीला धरती उदक आगे राणाजी श्रीजी ता रा पत्र करावे दीधो था प्रगणे जाजपुर रा गाम पडेर महे हल ११ धरती वीगा गारा करे दीधी श्रीमुष हुकम हुओ साह भामा संवत् १६४५ काती सुद १५

महाराणाजी श्री उदेसिंघजी रो दत्त

## APPENDIX V

Patta, Photograph 26/240 C. O. U., dated the 15th of the bright-half of Magh V. S. 1707.

(1650 A. D.)

श्री रामो जयति

श्री गणेष प्रसादातु　　　　श्री एकलिंगो जयति

भाला

सही

स्वस्ति श्री उदैपुर सुथाने महाराजाधिराज महाराणा श्री जगत सिंघजी आदेशातु जुणा दो स्व सुथाने चोहाणा राजसिंघस्य तथा समस्त जागीरदार

१ अग्र (च) भुणावा संरापिया दोहल्या ज्या सु चोलण मत करो कासीदी मत करावो म्हें कासीदी पीढ्यां हे बगसी छै दही दूध षाटां गोद रो बार बुलो तो पीयान्ही रा मत ल्यो म्हे इन्या हे बगस्यो छे चोलण क्या हि मत करो संवत् १७०७ व्रषे महा सुदी १५ रीवो

## APPENDIX VI

Copper-plate Inscription No. 94 C. O. U., dated the 14th of the bright-half of Vaishakh V. S. 1724.

(27th April, 1667 A. D.)

श्री रामो जयति

श्री गणेषजी प्रसादातु          श्री एकलिंग प्रसादातु

भाला

सही

महाराजाधिराज महाराणा श्री राजसिंघजी आदेशातु गढवी पीथा जात भोल गाहे गाम जाडोलो पडगने सहरा रे उदक आघाट करे मया कीधो दुवे श्रीमुष प्रत दुवे साह भीमे लीषतं पंचोली पुजा केसोदासोत संवत् १७२४ वर्षे वैषाष सुद १४ बुधे।

# APPENDIX VII

## THE SO-CALLED RAJ SINGH'S LETTER TO AURANGZIB.

### COMPARATIVE TEXTS OF THE LETTERS AS GIVEN BY W.B. ROUSE AND SIR J. N. SARKAR BASED ON A. S. B. MS. 56 AND R. A. S. MS. 71 RESPECTIVELY.

| **W. R. ROUSE.** | **SARKAR.** |
|---|---|
| (a) "All due praise be rendered to the glory of Almighty, and the munificence of your majesty, which is conspicuous as the sun and moon. Although I, your wellwisher has separated from your sublime presence, I am never-the-less Zealous in the performance of every bounden act of obedience and loyalty. My ardent wishes and strenuous services are employed to promote the prosperity of the Kings, Nobles, Mirzas, Rajas and Roys of the provinces of Hindostan, and the chiefs of | (a) "This **firm and constant well wisher Shavaji,** after rendering thanks for the grace of God and favours of the emperor—which are clearer than the sun—begs to inform your Majesty that, although this well-wisher **was led by his adverse Fate to come away from your august presence without taking leave,** yet he is ever ready to perform to the fullest extent possible and proper, everything that duty as a servant and gratitude demand of him."<br>"My excellent services |

Aaraun, Turaun, Room and Shawm, the inhabitants of seven climates and all persons travelling by land and by water. This my inclination is notorious, nor can your royal wisdom entertain a doubt thereof. Reflecting therefore on my former services, and your Majesty's condescension I presume to solicit the royal attention to some circumstances in which the public as well as private welfare is greatly interested."

and devotion to the welfare of the State are fully known to the Princes, Khans, Amirs, Rajahs and Rais of India, to the rulers of Persia, Central Asia, Turkey and Syria, to the inhabitants of the seven climes of the globe and to wayfarers on land and sea, and very likely their light has flashed on your Majesty's capacious mind. So, with a view to rendering good services and earning the imperial favour, I submit the following word in a spirit of devotion to the public welfare":–

(b) "I have been informed that enormous sums have been dissipated in the prosecution of the designs formed against me, your wellwisher; and that you have ordered a tribute to be levied to satisfy the exigencies of your exhausted treasury."

"May it please your Majesty, your royal ancestor Mahomed Jelaulul-Deen Akbar, whose throne is now

(b) "It has recently come to my ears that, on the ground of war with me having exhausted your wealth and emptied the imperial treasury, your Majesty has ordered that money under the name of Jaziya should be collected from the Hindus and the imperial needs supplied with it. May it please your Majesty! That architect of the fabric of empire ( Jalaluddin ) in heaven conducted the affairs of this empire in equity and firm security for the space of fifty-two years, preserving every type of men in ease and happiness, whether they were followers of Jesus or of Moses, of David or Mahomed ; were they Brahmins, were they of the sect of Dharians, which denies the eternity of matter, or of that which ascribes the existence of the world to change, they all equally enjoyed his countenance and favour : inso-much that his people in gratitude for the indiscriminate protection he afforded them, distinguished him by the appelation of Jaggat Gooroo (Guardian of Mankind)."

Akbar Padishah, reigned with full power for 52 (lunar) years. He adopted the admirable policy of universal harmony (Sulh-i-kul) in relation to all the various sects,such as Christians, Jews, Muslims, Dadu's followers, sky worshippers (Falakia), malakias, materialists, (ansarias), atheists (daharia), Brahmin and Jain priests. The aim of his liberal heart was to cherish and protect all the people. So, he became famous under the title of world's spiritual guide ( Jagat Guru)."

(c) "His Majesty Mahomed Noorul Deen Jehangheer, like-wise, whose dwelling is now in paradise, extended, for a period of twenty-two years, the shadow of his protection over the heads of his people ; successful by a cons-

(c) "Next, the Emperor Nuruddin Jahangir for 22 years spread his gracious shade on the head of the world and its dwellers, gave his heart to his friends and his hand to his work and gained his desires. The emperor Shah

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| tant fidelity to his allies, and a vigorous exertion of his arm in business."<br>"Nor less did the illustrious Shah Jehan, by a propitious reign of thirty-two years, acquire to himself immortal reputation, the glorious reward of clemency and virtue." | Jahan for 32 years cast his blessed shade on the head of the world and gathered the fruit of internal life,—which is only another name for goodness and fair fame,—as the result of his happy time on earth." |
| (d) ( This part seems to have been omitted). | (d) (Verses)<br>**"He who lives with a good name gains ever lasting wealth, because after his death recital of his good deeds keeps his name alive."** |
| (e) "Such were the benevolent inclinations of your ancestors. Whilst they pursued these great and generous principles, where-soever they directed their steps, conquests and prosperity went before them ; and then they reduced many countries and fortresses to their obedience. During your Majesty's reign, many have been alienated from the empire, and further loss of territory must necessarily follow, | (e) "Through the auspicious effect of this sublime disposition, wherever he (Akbar) bent the glance of his august wish, victory and success advanced to welcome him on the way. In his reign men of kingdoms and forts were conquered. The state and power of these emperors can be easily understood from the fact that Alamgir Padishah has failed and become bewildered in the at- |

since devastation and rapine now universally prevail without restraint. Your subjects are trampled under foot, and every province of your empire is impoverished.; depopulation spreads, and difficulties accumulate. When Indigence has reached the habitation of the sovereign and his princes, what can be the condition of the nobles? As to the soldiery, they are in murmurs; the merchants complaining, the Mahomedans discontented, the Hindus destitute and multitudes of people, wretched even to the want of their nightly meal, are beating their heads throughout the day in rage and desperation."

"How can the dignity of the sovereign be preserved who employs his power in exacting heavy tributes from a people thus miserably reduced.? At this juncture it is told from east to west that the emperor of Hindostan Jealous of the poor Hindoo tempt to merely follow their political system. They, too, had the power of levying the Jaziya; but they did not give place to bigotry in their hearts, as they considered all men high and low, created by God to be (Living) examples of the nature of diverse creeds and temperaments. Their kindness and benevolence endure on the pages of Time and their memorial, and so prayer and praise for these (three) pure souls will dwell for ever in the hearts and tongue of man-kind among both great and small. Prosperity is the fruit of one's intention. Therefore, their wealth and good fortune continued to increase, as God's creatures reposed in the cradle of peace and safety (in their reigns) and their undertakings succeeded."

"But in your Majesty's reign, many of the forts and the provinces have gone out of your possession and the rest will soon do so too, devotee will exact a tribute from Brahmins, Sanorahs, Joghies Berawghies, Sanyasees; that, regardless of the illustrious honour of his Timurean race, he condescends to exercise his power over the solitary in-offensive anchoret."

because **there will be no slackness on my part in ruining and devastating them. Your peasants are down trodden; the yield of every village has declined, in the place of one lac of rupees only one thousand, and in the place of a thousand only ten are collected,** and that too with difficulty. When Poverty and Beggary have made their homes in the palaces of the emperor and the princes, the condition of the grandees and officers can be easily imagined. **It is a reign in which the Army is in a ferment, the merchants complain ; the Muslims cry, the Hindus are grilled; most men lack bread at night and the day time inflame their own cheeks by slapping them ( in anguish ). How can the royal spirit permit you to add the hard-ship of the Jaziya to this grievous state of things ?** The infamy will quickly spread from west to east and become recorded in books of history that the emperor of Hindustan coveting the beggars' bowls, takes Jaziya from Brahmins and Jain Monks, Yogis, Sanyasis, Bairagis, paupers, mendicants, ruined wretches, and the famine stricken, that his valour is shown by attacks on the wallets of beggars, that he dashes down (to the ground) the name and honour of the Timurids !"

(f) "If your Majesty places any faith in those books, by distinction called divine, you will there be instructed that God is the God of all man-kind, not the God of Mahomedans alone. The Pagan and the Mussulman are equally in His presence. Distinction of colour are of His ordination. It is He who gives existence. In your temples, to His name the voice is raised in prayer ; in a house of

(f) "May it please your Majesty ! If you believe in the true Divine Book and word of God (that is the Quran) you will find there (that God is styled) Rabb-ul-alamin, the lord of all men and not Rabb-ul-musalmin, the Lord of the Muhammadans only. Verily, Islam and Hinduism are terms of contrast. They are (diverse pigments) used by the true Divine Painter for blending the colours and filling

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| images, where the bell is shaken, still He is the object of adoration. To vilify the religion or customs of other men is to set at naught the pleasure of Almighty. When we deface a picture, we naturally incur the resentment of the painter ; and justly has the poet said, 'presume not to arraign or scrutinize the various works of power divine'." | in the outlines (of His picture of the entire human species). If it be a mosque, the call to prayer is chanted in remembrance of Him. If it be a temple, the bell is rung in yearning for Him only. To show bigotry for any man's creed and practices is equivalent to altering the words of the Holy Book. To draw (new) lines on a picture is to find fault with the painter (Verses)." |
| (g) ( Verses seems to be omitted). | (g) **Lay not thy hand in disapproval on anything you see, be it good, be it bad, to call the handy work faulty is to find fault with the crafts-man.** |
| (h) "In fine, the tribute you demand from the Hindoos is repugnant to justice : it is equally foreign from good policy, as it must impoverish the country : moreover, it is an innovation and infringement of the laws of Hindostan. But if zeal for your own religion hath induced | (h) "In strict justice Jaziya is not at all lawful. From the political point of view it can be allowed only if a **beautiful woman wearing gold ornaments can pass from one country to another without fear or molestation. [But] in these days even the cities are being plundered,** what shall I say |

you to determine upon this measure, **the demand ought, by the rules of** equity, to have been made first upon Ram Sing, who is esteemed the principal amongst the Hindoos. Then let your well-wisher be called upon with whom you will have less difficulty to encounter ; but to torment ants and flies is unworthy of a heroic or generous mind. It is wonderful that the ministers of your government should have neglected to instruct your Majesty in the rules of rectitude and honour."

of the open country ? Apart from its injustice this imposition of Jaziya is an innovation in India and inexpedient."

"If you imagine piety to consist in oppressing the people and terrorising the Hindus you ought first to levy the Jaziya **from Rana Raj Singh who is the head of the Hindus.** Then it will not be so very difficult to collect it from me, as I am at your service. But to oppress ants and flies is far from displaying valour and spirit."

"I wonder at the strange fidelity of your officers that they neglect to tell you of the true state of things, but cover a blazing fire with straw ! May the sun of your royalty continue to shine above the horizon of greatness !"

N. B. For the facility of a comparative idea of both the letters alphabetical indications have been made and difference of ideas contained in them have been printed in bold letters.

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# APPENDIX VIII

*N. B. I propose to give the correct version of the original verses quoted in the foot-notes.*

### Page 8, Foot-note No. 1.

"सिंधोस्तु सिंधोस्तट उत्तरस्य
नद्याश्च बाष्पस्य भूयास्ति सीमा'

### Page 9, Foot-note No. 4.

'तौरुष्कामितमुण्डमण्डलमिथः
संघट्टवाचालिता ।
यस्याद्यापि वदन्ति कीर्तिमभितः
संग्राम सीहाभुवः ॥'

### Page 9, Foot-note No. 5.

(अ) 'हाडावटीदेशपतीन् स जित्वा
तन्मंडलं चात्मवशीचकार ।
तदत्र चित्रं खलु यत्करांतं
तदेव तेषामहि यो बभंज ॥'

(ब) 'दंडाखंडितचंडमंडलकरप्राचीरमाचूर्णयत्
तन्मध्योद्धतधीरयोधनिधनं निर्म्माय निर्म्मायधीः ।
हाडामंडलमुँडखंडनधृतस्फूर्ज्जत्कबंधोद्धुरं
कृत्वा संगरमात्मसाद्वसुमतीं श्रीखेतसिंहो व्यधात्' ॥

### Page 10, Foot-note No. 5. (स)

'ढिल्लीचारुपुरेश्वरेण व (ब) लिना स्पृष्टोपि नो पाणिना
राज्ञा श्रीमददावदीति विलसन्नाम्ना गजस्वामिना ।
सोपि चैत्रमहीभुजा निजभुजप्रौढप्रतापादहो
भग्नो विश्रुतमंडलाकृतिगढो जित्वा समस्तानरीन् ॥'

### Page 10, Foot-note No. 6 (अ)

'नीतिप्रीतिभुजार्जितानि [बहु] शो रत्नानि यत्नादयं
दायं दायममायया व्यतनुत ध्वस्तांतरायां गयां ।
तीर्थानां करमाकलय्य विधिनान्यत्रापि युँक्ते धनं
प्रौढग्रावनिबद्धतीर्थसरसिजाग्रयशोंभोरुहः ॥'

'संग्रामे लुंटितानां प्रतिनृपमहसां राशयस्ते किमेते ।
विंध्यं बंधुं समेतुं किमु समुपगताः साधु हेमाद्रिपादाः ॥'

(ब)

'लक्षं सुवर्णानि ददौ द्विजेभ्यो
लक्षस्तुलादानविधानदक्षः ।
एतत् प्रमाणं विधिरित्यतोसा—
वर्जेन सायो (यु) ज्यसुखं सिषेवे ॥'

Page 10, Foot-note No. 7.

(अ)

'यस्याग्रे समभूत्पलायनपरः पेरोजखान स्वयम्'

(ब)

'कोणेकूणित कर्णधारविभवः श्रीमोकलोभूप्पवः ।
प्रोढिंनावमुपेयुषो जलधरः पीरोजपृथ्वीभुजः ॥'

Page 11, Foot-note No. 8.

(अ)

'निपात्य दुर्गं परिखां प्रपूर्य
गजान्गृहीत्वा यवनीश्च बध्वा ।
अदंडयद्यो यवनाननन्तान्
विडंबयन्गुर्जरभूमिभर्तुः ॥'
'असौशिरोमंडनचन्द्रतारं
विचित्रकूटं किल चित्रकूटम् ।'

(ब)

'श्रीविक्रमात्पंचदशाधिकेस्मिन् वर्षे शते पंचदशे व्यतीते ।
चैत्रासितेनंगतिथौ व्यधायि श्रीकुंभमेरूर्वसुधाधिपेन ॥'
'महोमदो युक्ततरो न चैषः
स्वस्वामिघातेन धनार्जनत्वात् ।
इतीव सारंगपुरं विलोड्य
महंमदं त्याजितवान्महामदम् ॥'
'एतद्दग्धपुराग्निवाडवमसौ
यन्मालवांभोनिधिं ।

क्षोणीशः पिबतिस्म खड्गचुलुकै
स्तस्मादगस्त्यः स्फुटम् ॥'

Page 15, Foot-note No. 18.

'मुदफ्फरं गुर्ज्जरेशं जित्वातद् शिविरं दहत् ।
बंगादहमदाबाद विजयं व्यतनोद्वली ॥'

Page 16, Foot-note No. 19.

'दिल्लीश्वरादिभूपेभ्यो गृहीत्वा पृथिवीं बलात्'

Page 17, Foot-note No. 20.

'सोयं सांग महीपतिः स्मरतनुः श्रीमांडवाख्यालसत् ।
दुर्गेशात् यवनेश्वरं बलयुतं बध्वा त्यजत्सत्कृपः ॥'
'वारत्रयो महताबलेन मांडव्यदुर्गाधिपतिं निरूध्य ।
मुमोच तं लुंटितसर्वबित्तस्तत्साम्यतांयाति धरातलेकः ॥'
'संस्थाप्य पद्मिनीगेहे कारायां चित्रकूटके'

Page 18, Foot-note No. 22.

'सांगो दामण त्रहुँ सुरताण'
'बध्वा येन मुहुर्मुहुः किल सुरत्राणो विमुक्तो रणे ।
राहप्पान्वयभूषणेन महता संग्रामसिंहेन वै ॥'

Page 20, Foot-note No. 24.

'आगरानगरस्थायी बब्बरो नगराद्युतः ।
कृत्वा सार्द्धं प्रधानेन विचारं चिंतयाकुलः ॥'

Page 35, Foot-note No. 81.

'षानुवानगरे तत्र शिविरंव्यतनोत्ततः'

Page 40, Foot-note No. 103.

'तुंबरो यः सिलहदी लुंटितो निर्जितो रणे
अन्येपि देशपाला ये जिता संग्रामभूभुजा
..................................................

ते दिल्ली शेन मिलिता'..................................

Page 44, Foot-note No. 112.

'कालपीमध्य आगतः
संग्रामस्य तदाखिलैः

गरदानं कृतं तैस्तैः
संग्रामं तादृशं पुनः ’

‘आनीय मंडलगढे मेदपाटे पुरे क्रियां ।
चक्रुरेतस्य तेसर्वे स्वामिद्रोहकृतो नृपाः ।।’

### Page 61, Foot-note No. 6 (b)

‘वर्षेसप्तनवत्याख्येगते पंचदशे शते’

‘………उदयसिंहः महाबलैयुतः चित्रकूटे प्रविष्टः’

### Page 64, Foot-note No. 19.

‘अजमेर स जग्राह सुरतानाय तं ददौ ।
रावाय सर्ववैरांच पठानेभ्यो गृहीतवान् ।।’

### Page 75, Foot-note No. 56.

‘शब्दोमहानेव बभूव पंचक्रोशावधिस्थायी जनैः श्रुतश्च’

### Page 76, Foot-note No. 60.

‘ततः शरैः कुँतवरैः कृपाणैर्महागुटीयंत्रगणैश्व संख्ये ।
विखंडिता दुर्गभटैः स्वदुर्गे दिल्लीशवीरा बहुशो निपेतुः ।।’

### Page 76, Foot-onte No. 61.

‘दिल्लीशसंयुक्तगुटीप्रहारात् श्रीजैमलाख्यो रविमंडल महत् ।
विभिद्य पश्चात् त्रिदिवं प्रयातः,……………………
…………………’ अंतपुरे ज्वालित एवतद्भटैः ।।’

### Page 79, Foot-note No. 66.

‘त्रिंशत्सहस्रप्रमितास्तुयोधा दिल्लीपते प्रोद्धरयुद्धयोधाः’

### Page 83, Foot-note No. 6.

‘हस्त्यश्व अन्यैस्तु (?) सुशंखचक्र
प्रवालमुक्तामणिमुख्य चिन्हैः ।
स्वसत्वमालोक्य तनौर्यदीय
ऐश्वर्यमुख्यैः श्रियते गुणौघैः ।।’

‘विशाल सुखद्वर भालमुच्च (?)
प्रताप लक्ष्मैयक निवास भूमिं ।
निरीक्ष्य मिथ्याभिमतोद्धतत्वं
त्यजंति चान्ये भुवि पार्थिवौघाः ।।’

Page 89, Foot-note No. 16.

'मानसिंहेन तस्यासीद्वैमनस्यं भुजादिजः'

Page 96, Foot-note No. 39.

'गिरस्थहारिद्र कघट्टमध्ये
प्रतापसिंहः सततः प्रविष्ट

Page 96, Foot-note No. 40.

'कालांजनाजलनिभा अथसन्नियुक्ता
सप्तायुतं समिति राणपुरंदरेण ।
भिल्लामहांबुदघटारवतीव्रवेगा
भल्लान् ववर्षुररिसैन्यमहीतलेषु ॥'

Page 97, Foot-note No. 46.

'हस्तिध्वजेप्रचलितध्वजिनीमुखेच'
'ततः परंते मिलिते ध्वजिन्यौ'

Page 97, Foot-note No. 47.

'कृत्वा करे खड्गलतां स्ववल्लभां
प्रतापसिंहे समुपागते प्रगे'

Page 98, Foot-note No. 47.

'प्रातः पुनः ध्वनति चाहृ चतूर्यघोषे'

Page 98, Foot-note No. 49.

'ततो महादुन्दुभिघोरनादैः'

Page 99, Foot-note No. 51.

'सा खन्डिता मानवती द्विषच्चमूः
संकोचयन्ती चरणौ पराङ्मुखी'

Page 100, Foot-note No. 55.

'एवं निवृत्तं पृतनाद्वयंतद्
संख्यसंख्ये षमनोरमध्ये ।
तूर्णं प्रपूर्णं सुतलस्तुरक्तं
चर्मणवती सा भवद (१) वर्णनाशा ॥'

Page 102, Foot-note No. 63.

'तन्मानसिंहस्य करीन्द्रकुंभे
निक्षेपकुंतं च शिवेव शुंभे'

'पलायनेच्छं प्रबभूव कुंभी'
'तस्मात्पलायतगजोधृतमानसिंह:'

Page 104, Foot-note No. 75.

'आस्त सूर्योदयत: प्रभूते
सूर्यास्तकालावधि धन्य युद्धे
'सर्वं कुटिस्थामपहायधनंविहस्ता'
'अरिभवनात्गृहीतवित्त:'

Page 105, Foot-note 78.

'विखंडितानां यवनेश्वरस्य
महाभटानां गणनां विधातुं ।
विद्याविनोदी गणेश्वरोपि
शक्तोन कोन्य: प्रभवेत्ससर्थ:॥'

Page 115, Foot-note No. 119.

'अमरेश: खानखानादाराणां हरणं व्यधात् ।
सुवासिनीवत् संतोष्य प्रेषयामास ता: पुन: ॥'
'कुमारस्त्वमरेश नामा म्लेच्छाभिमानक्षयकारिधामा'
'जग्राह वै सेरपुराज्जवेन
स खानखानस्यकलत्रमाप'

Page 120, Foot-note No. 130.

'कार्यंसुयुक्त्या सुधियाचधर्मं
शक्त्या रणं मन्त्रिगणैर्विचारं ।
प्रकुर्वनीशार्चितराजतेजो
परिस्खलत्येवनय: कदाचित् ॥'

Page 124, Foot-note No. 12.

'हस्त्यश्वपदातिसद्रथगजैरापूरयंतोधरां'

Page 124, Foot-note No. 13.

'सिंहोपम:शौर्यगुणेनसम्यक्
कृतोधिकारी हरिदासभाल:'

Page 124, Foot-note No. 14.

'अंग वंगसुकलिंगभटौघा:
चौडगौंड मरहट्ठमलिक्षा: ।

गुर्जराश्चवरवाग्वरजाताः
सेवयंत्यमरसिंहपदाब्जम् ।।'

Page 124, Foot-note No. 15.

'शकुंतनाराचशितास्ततार
यद्राजधान्यं गणशस्त्र शोभाम्'

Page 131, Foot-note No. 43.

'पुत्रोस्यं कर्णसिंहाख्यः
सिरोंजं मालवाभुवम् ।
धिंधोराख्यं बभंजात्र
दंडं चक्रेऽति लुंटनम् ।।'

'पुत्रश्रीअमरेशभूपतिमणेरग्रेसराग्योरणे
रूद्धोम्लेच्छबलैः ससंगरकरैः श्रीकर्णसिंहाभिधः ।
वीरेन्द्रैः सहितः सिरोंजनगर स्याद्धा करोत्पालनम्
दंडं तत्र चकार पाररहितं भूयो महालुंटनम् ।।'

Page 138, Foot-note No. 68.

'राणा अमरसिंहेन्द्रो जहाँगीरस्य तुष्टये
·····जगत्सिंहे प्रेशितवान् ।'
'जहाँगीरो मुहुस्तस्मै भूषणादि ददौ मुदा'
'तुरंगमातंगमहादेशान् दत्वा·····गृहान्प्रति आज्ञा ददौ।।'

Page 140, Foot-note No. 71.

'ग्रीष्मे ऋतौ जलक्रीड़ां
विधातुं वनिताजनैः ।
प्रयाति भोगसामग्रीं
प्रबलोमरसिंहराट्।।'

Page 140, Foot-note No. 69.

'वरचित्रकूटदुर्गो नगरंनागौर अवनिपोह्यमरः ।
मंत्रीडुंगरसिंहो धात्र्यां रत्नानि चत्वारि ।।'

Page 140, Foot-note No. 73.

'यद्द्वारे राजधान्याः समदकरिघटाबद्धपार्श्वेऽर्थयद्भि
र्लब्ध्वा वारैकदानं करितुरगरथग्रामबर्षासनादि ।

पश्चादाजन्मकालं तृणमिवगणयंतोखिलं चान्यभूपं
नैवस्याभ्यर्थयंते प्रमितसुखकला सद्बुधा जीवनान्तम् ।।'

Page 143, Foot-note No. 5.

'तस्मादभूत् भोजसमानदानी
श्रीकर्णसिंहो धरणीशतेजः ।'

Page 144, Foot-note No. 11.

'दिल्लीश्वराज्जहाँगीरस्तस्य खुर्रमनामकम् ।
पुत्रं विमुखतां प्राप्तं स्थापयित्वा निजक्षितौ ।।'
'खुर्रमनामकं विमुखतां यातं जहाँगीरतः ।
तद्वीरं विजितं पलायनपरं संस्थापयामास सः ।।'

Page 145, Foot-note No. 13.

'मुक्ताहारमहार्हभूषणगणैः श्रीकर्णसिंहोर्चितः'

Page 147, Foot-note No. 18.

'कृत्वा खुर्रमनामकं विरचयन्
सत् खड्गबंधक्षमम् ।
दिल्लीशं कृतवांश्च तेन नितरां
सम्मानतो भूपतिः ।।'
'स्वर्याते यवनेश्वरे सविनयम्
भ्रात्रार्जुनेनान्वितम् ।'

Page 149, Foot-note No. 21.

'वैषाखे निजसेनया गिरिपुरं प्राध्वंसयत् भूमिपः'

Page 149, Foot-note No. 22.

'अत्तेराजंसिरोहीशं वश्यंचक्रे ग्रहीद्भुवम्'

Page 150, Foot-note No. 30.

'बलवानपि शक्तेन नृपः संधिं विधाय सः'

Page 151, Foot-note No. 33.

'भवदवदानविनोदैः दिशिदिशि देवेश राजंते'

Page 151, Foot-note No. 35.

'प्रथमधनप्रवाहैः कार्यतां धर्मशाला'

### Page 151, Foot-note No. 38.

'दंड्येषुदंडवितरन् यथावत् पराशरप्रोक्तमतानुसारी'

### Page 151, Foot-note No. 39.

'प्रोक्तः पुराणेषु नरेश्वराणां यत्कोशसंवर्धनमेवधर्म':

### Page 153, Foot-note No. 2.

'सामाद्युपायार्जितचित्तयुक्तो'

### Page 153, Foot-note No. 3.

'चरित्रं चिरकीर्तिचित्रं पवित्रम'

### Page 155, Foot-note No. 12.

'यावन्न कुर्यान् प्रतिकर्मशत्रोः
तावन्न चान्तर्वपुषस्तुजातम्'

### Page 158, Foot-note No. 22.

'दग्धं मालपुराभिख्यंनगरं व्यतनोदिह।
दिनानां नवकं स्थित्वा लुंटनं समकारयत्॥'

### Page 174, Foot-note No. 88.

'घट्टत्रयस्यमार्गस्य दृष्ट्यर्थं प्रेषिताः भटाः'

### Page 177, Foot-note No. 97.

'अन्नाभावान्नित्यमेव लोकानान्तुचतुःशतं।
अथाकबरआयातो मिलनंकर्तुमुद्यतः॥'

### Page 186, Foot-note No. 4.

'भवेतां मनुजौ तत्र मेदपाटे उभावपि।
हारीतबाष्पनामानौ चेरतुस्तावितस्ततः॥'
'शिष्यसाधकधर्मज्ञौ गुरूशिष्यस्वरूपिणौ'
'तत्रतेपे तपो ब्रह्मन् हारीतो मुनिरूत्तमः।
बाष्पः शुश्रूषणंचक्रे हारीतस्य शिवस्य च॥'

### Page 188, Foot-note No. 9.

'दुर्गाधिराजं समरभुविपरा'
'स्कंधावारमपारवारणगज'

Page 189, Foot-note No. 15.

'मंत्रीडुंगरसींहो धात्र्यां रत्नानिचत्वारि'

'हस्त्यश्वपदातिरथेन भूपो
विलोक्य राज्ञामरसिंहनाम्ना ।
सिंहोपमश्शौर्यगुणेन सम्यक्
कृतोधिकारीहरिदास झाल:'

Page 190, Foot-note No. 17.

'मेदपाटेश्वरदेशे'

'यद्देशो बहुनगरा'

Page 190, Foot-note No. 18.

'सौन्दर्यैकनिकेतनंजनपद: श्रीमेदपाटाभिध:'

Page 190, Foot-note No. 19.

'वरचित्रकूटदुर्गो'

Page 190, Foot-note No. 20.

'तेजसिहसुत: सरोषसमरे क्षोणीश्वरग्रामणी'

Page 191, Foot-note No. 21.

'……श्रीचित्रकूट दुर्गे तद्वारक्षाच पितृक्रमायाताम्'

Page 193, Foot-note No. 29.

'उचितभाग माप्नोति श्रेयसां संपदामपि'

'प्रोक्त: पुराणेषु नरेश्वराणां
यत्कोशसंबर्धनमेव धर्म: ।
धर्मार्ज्जितैरेव धनैरजस्रं
तनोति कोशं सुकृती स तेन ॥'

Page 194, Foot-note No. 35.

'विनापराधं लोकेस्मिन् बंधोमोक्षोपि न नृणाम्'

Page 194, Foot-note No. 38.

'धर्माचरणा सुजना धर्मोपि दयामयोयत्र'

Page 194, Foot-note No. 39.

'दंड्येषु दंडं वितरन् यथावत्
पराशरप्रोक्तमतानुसारी ।'

Page 195, Foot-note No. 40.

'ज्वलनयंत्रधरैः    प्रचण्डैः'

'बहुवह्निशस्त्रै :'

Page 200, Foot-note No. 51.

'चतुर्दशविद्याविनोदरसिक'

Page 200, Foot-note No. 53.

'जयति सुमतिपूर्णो डुंगरोमात्यराजः'

## APPENDIX IX.

### Date Summary.

| V. S. | A. D. | Events | Page |
|---|---|---|---|
| 623 | 566 | Gohilya | 1 |
| 1383<br>1421 | 1326<br>1364 | Hammir | 9 |
| 1421 | 1364 | Kshetra Singh's accession | 9 |
| 1439 | 1382 | Lakha's accession | 9 |
| 1485 | 1428 | Firoz Khan's defeat | 10 |
| 1490 | 1433 | Kumbha's accession | 10 & 198 |
| 1525 | 1468 | Kumbha's death | 11 |
| 1530 | 1473 | Raimal's accession | 11 |
| 1561<br>1565 | 1504<br>1508 | Sanga's exile | 14 |
| 1565 | 1508 | Sanga's accession | 13 |
| 1571 | 1514 | Sanga's war against Gujarat | 15 |
| 1576 | 1519 | Sanga's victory over the Sultan of Malwa | 15 |
| 1584 | 1527 | Sanga's march against Babur | 27 |
| " | " | Victory of Bayana | 29 |
| " | " | Babur reached Mandakur | 30 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1584 | 1527 | Sanga left Bhusawar and reached Khanua | 33 |
| ,, | ,, | Battle begins at Khanua | 35 |
| 1585 | 1528 | Sanga's death | 44 |
| 1585 | 1528 | Ratan Singh's accession | 46 |
| 1588 | 1531 | Surajmal and hunting excursion | 47 |
| ,, | ,, | Ratan Singh's death | 48 |
| 1588 | 1531 | Vikramaditya's accession | 48 |
| 1589 | 1532 | Mahammad Khan Asiri ordered to assault the fort of Chitor | 49-51 |
| 1590 | 1533 | Humayun returned to Agra | 50 |
| ,, | ,, | Asiri reached Chitor | 51 |
| ,, | ,, | Bahadur raised the siege of Chitor | 52 |
| 1592 | 1535 | Rumi Khan's artillery action at Chitor | 56 |
| ,, | ,, | The capture of the fort | 57 |
| 1593 | 1536 | Humayun visited Chitor | 57 |
| 1593 | 1536 | Vanbir's accession | 59 |
| 1594 | 1537 | Udai Singh at Kumbhalgarh | 60 |
| 1597 | 1540 | Udai Singh's accession | 61 |
| 1601 | 1544 | Sher Shah's march towards Chitor | 61 |
| 1602 | 1545 | Maldev recovered his territory | 62 |
| 1611 | 1554 | Udai Singh's alliance with Surjan of Bundi | 64 |
| 1613 | 1556 | Udai Singh's victory against Haji Khan Pathan of Ajmer | 64 |
| 1619 | 1562 | Udai Singh gave shelter to Man Singh Deora of Sirohi | 64 |
| ,, | ,, | Rana's hospitality to Baz Bahadur of Malwa | 66 |
| ,, | ,, | Akbar's victory at Merta | 66 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1624 | 1567 | Akbar's march towards Chitor, Sakti Singh's flight | 66-67 |
| 1625 | 1568 | Akbar's occuption of Chitor | 78-191 |
| 1626 | 1569 | Akbar's occupation of Ranthambhor | 67 |
| 1627 | 1570 | Akbar's occupation of Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer | 67 |
| 1629 | 1572 | Pratap's accession | 82-85 |
| ,, | ,, | Jagmal's contest | 84 |
| 1630 | 1573 | Peace missions sent to Mewar under Man Singh, Raja Bhagwan Das and Raja Todar Mal | 89-90 |
| 1631 | 1574 | Village Dhol granted to Puno by Pratap | 91 |
| 1632 | 1575 | Quelling of the troubles at Jodhpur | 92 |
| 1633 | 1576 | Man Singh left Ajmer for Mewar | 92 |
| | | Reached Haldighati | 96 |
| | | Battle of Haldighati | 97 |
| | | Narain Das of Idar defeated by the Mughal officers | 108 |
| | | Akbar turned back to Udaipur | 110 |
| 1634 | 1577 | The Mughal outposters in Mewar | 111 |
| 1635 | 1578 | Kumbhalgarh in the Mughal possession | 112 |
| | | Amar Singh's valour | 113 |
| | | Shahbaz Khan sent to Mewar | 113 |
| 1636 | 1579 | Shahbaz Khan again in Mewar | 113 |
| 1637 | 1580 | Khan Khanan's appointment for conducting Mewar compaign | 115 |
| 1642 | 1585 | Pratap's occupation of Chhappan | 115 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1653 | 1597 | Pratap's death at Chavand | 118 |
| ,, | ,, | Amar Singh's accession | 122 |
| 1655 | 1599 | Salim's invasion of Mewar | 124 |
| 1660 | 1603 | Salim's 2nd invasion of Mewar | 126 |
| 1662 | 1605 | Parviz sent against the Rana | 127 |
| 1665 | 1608 | Mahabat Khan and Mewar campaign | 128 |
| 1666 | 1609 | Abdullah's war in Mewar | 130 |
| 1669 | 1612 | Raja Basu and Mewar | 131 |
| 1670 | 1613 | Aziz Koka sent to Mewar and Jahangir set out for Ajmer | 131 |
| ,, | ,, | Khurram started for Mewar | 132 |
| 1671 | 1614 | Khurram sent 'Alam Kaman' to the emperor | 133 |
| 1672 | 1615 | Treaty with Mewar | 136&187 |
| 1676 | 1620 | Amar Singh's death | 141 |
| 1677 | 1620 | Karan Singh's accession | 142 |
| 1678 | 1621 | Rampol Inscription | 191 |
| 1680 | 1623 | Khurram defeated at Bilochpur | 144 |
| 1681 | 1624 | Battle of Damdama | 146 |
| 1684 | 1627 | Jahangir's death | 147 |
| 1685 | 1628 | Karan Singh's death | 147 |
| 1685 | 1628 | Jagat Singh's accession | 148 |
| 1685 | 16.8 | Plunder of Devliya | 148 |
| 1690 | 1633 | Jhala Kalyan at the Mughal court | 149 |
| 1700 | 1643 | Shah Jahan came to Ajmer | 150 |
| 1704 | 1647 | Jambuvati started for pilgrimage | 152 |
| 1709 | 1652 | Construction of Jagadish temple completed | 151 |
| 1709 | 1652 | Jagat Singh's death | 152 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1709 | 1652 | Raj Singh's accession | 153 |
| 1711 | 1654 | Shah Jahan left for Ajmer | 154 |
| " | " | Sadullah Khan to Mewar | 154 |
| " | " | Ram Chandra of Bedla sent to the emperor | 155 |
| 1715 | 1658 | Aurangzib's letters to Raj Singh from Deccan | 156-157 |
| " | " | Raj Singh and his 'Tikador' ceremony | 157 |
| " | " | Aurangzib's victory over Dara | 158 |
| 1716 | 1659 | Coronation and Aurangzib's ordinances | 162 |
| 1717 | 1660 | Raj Singh's marriage with Charumati | 159 |
| 1719 | 1662 | Raj Singh subdued Minas | 161 |
| " | " | Construction work of Raj Samudra lake | 161 |
| 1721 | 1664 | Construction of Giyan Sagar | 195 |
| 1726 | 1669 | Aurangzib's general order to demolish temples | 162 |
| 1726 | 1669 | Rising of the Jats | 165 |
| 1729 | 1672 | Rising of the Satnamis | 165 |
| 1731 | 1674 | Construction of walls and a door-way at Deobari | 165 |
| 1732 | 1675 | Rising of the Sikhs | 165 |
| 1735 | 1678 | Jaswant Singh's death | 166 |
| 1736 | 1679 | Jazia imposed | 163 |
| | | Jaya Singh returned back to Udaipur | 163 |
| " | " | Mughal control over Marwar | 166 & 168 |
| " | " | Sarbuland Khan posted for | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Marwar | 167 |
| ” | ” | Tahavvur Khan sent to Mewar | 169 |
| ” | ” | Prince Azam for Mewar | 171 |
| 1737 | 1680 | Aurangzib's victory over Deobari | 171 |
| ” | ” | Aurangzib returns back to Ajmer | 172 |
| ” | ” | Destruction of temples at Udaipur | 174 |
| ” | ” | Prince Akbar reached Deosuri | 175 |
| 1737 | 1680 | Raj Singh's death | 175 |
| 1738 | 1681 | Akbar's escape | 179 |
| ” | ” | Jai Singh entered into alliance with the Mughals | 180 |
| ” | ” | Aurangzib's farman for Jai Singh | 181 |
| 1748 | 1691 | Construction of Jai Samudra completed | 182 |
| 1755 | 1698 | Jai Singh's death and Amar Singh's accession | 182 |
| 1767 | 1710 | Sangram Singh II | 201 |

## APPENDIX X

### The Mughal Dynasty (1526-1707 A. D.)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2. | Babur | 1526 A. D. | 1583 V. S. |
| 2. | Humayun | 1530 A. D. | 1587 V. S. |
| 3. | Akbar | 1556 A. D. | 1612 V. S. |
| 4. | Jahangir | 1605 A. D. | 1662 V. S. |
| 5. | Shah Jahan | 1628 A. D. | 1684 V. S. |
| 6. | Aurangzib | 1658 A. D. | 1715 V. S. |
| 7. | Bahadur Shah | 1707 A. D. | 1764 V. S. |

## APPENDIX XI

### The Sur Dynasty

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Sher Shah | 1539 A. D. | 1596 V. S. |
| 2. | Islam Shah | 1545 A. D. | 1602 V. S. |
| 3. | Md. Adil Shah | 1552 A. D. | 1609 V. S. |
| 4. | Ibrahim Sur | 1553 A. D. | 1610 V. S. |
| 5. | Sikandar Shah | 1555 A. D. | 1612 V. S. |

## APPENDIX XII

### The Lodi Dynasty

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Bahalol Lodi | 1451 A. D. | 1508 V. S. |
| 2. | Sikandar Lodi | 1489 A. D. | 1546 V. S. |
| 3. | Ibrahim Lodi | 1517 A. D. | 1574 V. S. |

## APPENDIX XIII

### The Contemporary Sultans of Gujarat

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Muzaffar Shah II | 1511 A. D. | 1568 V. S. |
| 2. | Sikandar Shah | 1526 A. D. | 1582 V. S. |
| 3. | Mahmud II | 1526 A. D. | 1583 V. S. |
| 4. | Bahadur Shah | 1526 A. D. | 1583 V. S. |
| 5. | Muhammad Shah | 1537 A. D. | 1593 V. S. |
| 6. | Mahmud III | 1537 A. D. | 1594 V. S. |
| 7. | Ahmad Shah II | 1554 A. D. | 1610 V. S. |
| 8. | Muzaffar Shah III | 1561 A. D. | 1618 V. S. |

## APPENDIX XIV

### Contemporary Sultans of Malwa

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Nasir Shah Khilzi | 1500 A. D. | 1557 V. S. |
| 2. | Mahmud Shah II | 1511-30 A. D. | 1568-87 V. S. |

# INDEX

Abdullah, 127, 130.
Adivarah temple (at Ahar), 1.
Agra, 23, 28, 30.
Ahar, 5.
Aheria (Spring-hunt), 47.
Ahmedabad, 54.
Ain-i-Akbari, 196, 207.
Ajit Singh, 168.
Ajmer, 9, 14 etc.
Akbar, 58, 67, 68, 70, 82, 87, 91 etc.
Akbarnama, 24, 26, 29, 30, 31, 36, 37, 38, 40, 43, 53, 55, 57, 67, 69, 70—79, 82, 84, 90—116, 206 etc.
Akhaya Raj, 36, 84, 148.
Alamgirnama, 159, 214.
Alam Khan (Lodi), 22.
Almamu, 7.
Amal-Salih, 132, 135, 137, 144, 147, 213.
Amar Bhushan, 200.
Amargarh, 124.
Amarkavya Vanshavali, 10, 15, 17, 19, 40, 61, 64, 69, 75, 76, 79, 90, 96, 97, 98, 100—136 etc., 225.
Amarsar, 83, 124, 140, 189, 224.
Amar Singh, 122, 139, 141 etc.
Ami Shah (Malwa), 1.
Aparajit, 1.
Arneta (village), 85.
Aravali (mountain range), 182.
Asaf Khan, 92.
Aziz Koka, 132.

Babur, 7, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 31, 44, 45, 47, etc.
Babur's Memoirs, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34—37, 40, 47.
Baburnama, 17, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 36, 29, 30—40, 47 etc.
Badnor, 85.
Badshahnama, 135, 136, 144, 149, 150 etc.
Bagadi Chauhan, 77.
Bagha, 61.
Bagh Singh, 56.
Bahadur Shah, 49, 53, 54, 58 etc.
Balaghat, 146.
Banas (river), 3.
Banjara, 107.
Bapa, 7, 9.
Bateri (village), 14.
Bayana, 2, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 40, 44.
Bayley—History of Gujarat, 11, 52 etc.
Bedla, 133.
Bedvas Inscription, 149.
Begun, 123.
Bengal, 91 etc.
Bhagvandas, 90.
Bhagvati Chauhan 77.
Bhama Shah, 185.
Bharatpur, 30.
Bhasawar Khan, 36.
Bhavanagar Inscription, 9, 10.
Bherodas, 56.
Bheropol (Chitor), 56.
Bhill (Bhils), 56, 84, 86, 100.
Bhim Singh of Srdargarh, 95.
Bhoj, 1.
Bhomat, 65.
Bhur Singh (Yasha Prakash), 18.
Bhusawar, 31.
Bikaner, 66, 69.
Brindavan, 163.
Burhan-ul-Mulk Bambani, 57.
Bundi, 47, 55.

Chachnama (Elliot), 7.
Chaghatai, 29.
Chamunda, 117.
Chanderi, 42, 44.
Chandwar (Chandrapur), 27.
Chanwar, 39.
Charumati, 159.
Chavand, 117, 118, 127, 130.
Chetak, 101, 102.
Chhappan 3, 9, 115.
Chhatra, 39.
Chirva Inscription, 191.
Chitor, 5, 7, 15, 21, 29, 43, 47, 49, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 61, 66, 70 etc.
Chitori Burj, 72.

Damdama, 146.
Dara, 155, 156.
Dargah (Ajmer), 85.
Daulat Khan Lodi, 23.
Davavet, 67, 68, 227.
Deobari (Gate), 63 etc.
Deobari Inscription, 158, 159, 165, 218.
Deosa, 43.
Deosuri-nal, 2.
Devalia, 148.
Dhaya ka Devra Inscription, 218.
Dholan, 112, 115.
Dholpur, 67.
Diver, 2.
Dodia Karan Singh of Lawa, 27.
Durgadas (Rathor), 179 etc.
Dursa Purbia, 95.

Eklinga, 71, 181.
Eklinga Mahatmya, 186.

Farghana, 19.
Farrukhfal, 201.
Firishta (Tarikh-i-Firishta), 15, 34, 35, 53, 55, 62, 69, 72, 75 etc.
Firoz Khan of Nagor, 10.
Forbes (Rasmala), 15.
Gambhiri, 1, 70.
Gaumukh, 77.
Gayaspur, 160.
Gazi (Title), 40.
Gazi Khan Badakshi, 97, 109.
Ghatoli, 15.
Giriraj Rawat, 17.
Girwa (District), 63, 81, 91.
Godwad, 14.
Gogunda, 76, 85, 106, 107, 117, 136.
Gokaldas Parmar, 28.
Gondwana, 124.
Gopinath, 91.
Guhil, 1.
Guhilots, 1, 10.
Gulbadan, 32 etc.
Gwalior, 83, 84.

Hada Arjun, 56.
Hadi Karmeti, 46, 50, 58.
Haji Khan, 64, 70.
Hakim Sur Pathan, 95, 98, 99.
Halad-grant, 64.
Haldighati, 1, 91, 93, 120.
Hammir (Rana), 9.
Hanumanpol, 56.
Hardas (Trivedi), 17.
Haridas Jhala, 124.
Hari Singh, 148.
Hasan Khan 72.
Hasan Khan Chaghatai, 25, 26, 37.
Hatigudon-ki-nal, 2.
Hativada (Nagari), 71.
Hema Kabra, 17.
Humayun, 24, 46, 52, 54 etc.
Humayunnama, 32, 33, 34, 58, 204.
Husain Kuli Khan, 71.

Ibrahim Lodi, 15, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 44.
Insha-i-Chandra Bhan, 155, 214.
Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, 67, 69, 70, 71, 74, 79, 80, 82, 84, 89, 90, 92, 124, 133, 136,

146, 211.
Irich, 43.
Isar Das Chauhan, 68.

Jagat Singh, 148 etc.
Jagat Singh Kavya, 150, 151, 152, 194.
Jagat Simhastaka, 151 etc.
Jagavilas, 147, etc,
Jagamal, 68, 84.
Jagannath Rai Inscription, 217.
Jahangir, 130, 145 etc.
Jahazpur, 9, 61.
Jaimal (son of Raimal), 12.
Jaimal (Merta), 76, 80, 81.
Jaisa (Charan), 96.
Jaisalmer, 66, 67.
Jamal Khan, 132.
Jangiya, 78.
Jauhar, 5, 56, 77.
Jawar Inscription, 170.
Jazia, 163 etc.
Jhalodia-grant, 64.
Jhilvada, 170.
Jhilvada-nal, 2.
Jivabai Solanki, 77.
Joshi Puno, 91.
Jodhpur, 66, 67 etc.
Juda, 65.
Junid, 7.

Kabir Khan, 72.
Kabra, 71.
Kabul, 20, 21, 22, 23; 32.
Kadariya, 78.
Kalpi, 44, 69.
Kamal Khan, 27.
Kambod (village), 61.
Karam Chand, 36.
Karan, 147.
Karan Singh Dodiya, 37.
Kashmir, 91.
Kathiawar, 7.
Kayum Khan, 125.
Kelwa, 123.
Kelwada, 86, 91, 111.
Kelwa-grant, 123.
Kesri Singh, 175.
Khamnor, 94, 97.
Khan Kalyan, 83.
Khanua, 27, 33, 35, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44.
Khulasa-i-Shah Jahannama, 153.
Khudawand Khan, 49, 51.
Khuman, 7.
Khurram, 137, 144, 145 etc.
Khwaja Abdul Majid- 72.
Kirtistambh Inscription, 10, 11 etc.
Kishan Das Chundawat, 95.
Kumbha, 10, 11.
Kuraj, 175.
Lakha, 9.

Lakhota Bari (Chitor), 56, 72,74.
Lahori, 23.
Lodi, 12.
Lonkaran, 97.
Luna Chavandiya, 115.

Maasir-i-Alamgiri, 163, 166, 167, 168, 170—172, 176—179, 214.
Maasir-i-Jahangiri, 125, 126, 130, 131, 212.
Maasir-i-Umra, 34, 130, 131, 216.
Madariya, 110.
Madhukar, 78.
Madho Singh, 128.
Mahabat Khan, 129.
Mahadi Khwaja, 25, 27, 29.
Mahikanta, 2.
Mahmud II, 12, 16.
Maldev, 35.
Mandalgarh, 5, 9, 44. 93.
Mandu, 16, 46, 49.
Manka-grant, 64.
Man Singh, 88, 89.
Man Singh Jhala, 96.
Medpat, 1.
Merpura, 130.
Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas, 21, 25, 26, 28, 35—39, 43, 50, 230.
Mirat-i-Ahmadi, 15, 17, 49, 52,

55, 57, 163, 173, 215.
Mirat-i-Sikandari, 15, 17, 49, 51, 52, 55, 57, 212.
Mohi, 109, 117.
Mokal, 10.
Mohammad Sultan Mirza, 28.
Molela, 94, 96.
Muhammad Azim, 169, 171.
Muhammad Sharif, 32.
Mukand Das, 130.
Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, 38, 133, 134, 154, 170, 173, 176, 177, 180, 215.
Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, 51—56, 61, 65, 76, 77, 80—112, 208.

Nadol, 108.
Nagadi, 71.
Nahar Magra, 12.
Narain Das of Idar, 108.
Narbada, 157.
Nasik, 146.
Nensi's Khyat, 57, 92, 94, 100, 114, 130, 137, 227.
Neta Sisodiya, 95.
Nizamuddin, 15, 25, 67.

Ogna, 65.
Ojha's U. R. I., 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 27, 35, 57, 70, 76, 103, 196.
Onkareshwar, 152.

Palanpur, 2.
Panarva, 65.
Pandoli, 71.
Panipat, 19, 20.
Panna, 59.
Parmar Karamchanda, 44.
Patta, 76, 79, 80, 81.
Phutkar git, 38 etc.
Pichola (Lake), 145.
Piplia, 71.
Pratap, 68, 13, 86, 87, 91, 99, 107, 120, 122.
Prithviraj, 12, 14,

Qazi Ali, 72.
Qazi Khan, 98.

Ragheda, 165.
Raimal Rathore, 34.
Raimal of Idar, 14.
Raipal Rathore, 14.
Raipatar Das, 72.
Rajnagar, 197.
Rajasthan, 2, 12, 18 etc.
Raja Ram Shah, 95.
Raja Todar Mal, 72,
Raj Prakash, 125, 143, 144, 149, 157, 158, 228.
Raj Prashasti, 89, 90, 102, 103, 113, 114, 141, 149, 154, 155, 163, 171, 175, 218.
Raj Ratnakar, 17, 89, 90, 96, 101, 149, 153, 155, 156, 218.
Raj Vilas, 113, 162, 167, 168, 170, 171, 175, 176, 189, 195, 228.
Rakta Tal, 100.
Rampol Inscription, 60.
Ramprasad, 84.
Ram Shah (Gwalior), 101.
Rani Bhattyani, 84.
Ranthambhor, 24, 46, 66 etc.
Rao Akhaya Raj of Sirohi, 27.
Rao Ballu Solanki, 68.
Rao Joga of Ameta, 27.
Rao Medni, 27.
Rao Ram Chandra of Bedla, 155.
Rao Ram Das Sonagara, 27.
Rao Ratan Singh of Salumber, 27.
Rao Sangram, 64.
Rao Surtan, 85.
Rawal Ranaji ki Vat, 43, 49, 57 etc.
Rewakanta, 2.
Rukmangad, 175.

Sabdalia, 78.
Sadar Khan, 53.
Sadiq Khan, 126.

Shah Jahannama, 213.
Sajja Chundawat, 38.
Sajja Jhala of Gogunda, 27.
Sajjan Bai, 77.
Sakrod, 165.
Sakti Singh, 67, 68, 102, 103 etc.
Salumber, 88.
Samarkand, 19, 32.
Sanga of Deogarh, 84.
Sarangpur, 53.
Sardar Bai Rathor, 77.
Sayyid Ahmed, 92.
Sayyid Hashim Burha, 92.
Shah Girdhar Pancholi, 188.
Shamas Khan, 62.
Sharif Khan, 109.
Shil, 1.
Shringi Rishi Inscription, 9, 10.
Sihabuddin Ahmad Khan, 83.
Sirohi, 83.
Sisod Vanshavali, 17, 67, 69, 84 etc.
Sooja Shah, 62.
Surya Vanshavali, 17, 77 etc.

Tabaqat, 65, 69, 71—75, 80—82 92—100, 104—110, 207.
Takmila-i-Akbarnama, 207.
Tarikh-i-Alfi, 69, 71, 72, 77, 209.
Tarikh-i-Daudi, 15, etc.
Tarikh-i-Firishta, 259.
Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana, 15, 37, etc.
Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Chaghtai, 142, 150, 172, 174, 180, 215.
Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, 61, 62, 210
Tawarikh Vanshavali, 17.
Thermopylae, 93.
Tezkereh-ul-Vakiat, 53, 55, 57, 205.
Todar Mal, 90, etc.
Tuzuk-i-Babari, 203 and (Baburnama.)
Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, 126, 127, 130 138, 146, 210.

Ubhadivata, 70.
Uda, 11, 55.
Udai Sagar, 63.
Ujjain, 53.
Uparmal, 8, 4.

Vikramaditya, 48, 50, 58.
Vanbir, 59, 60.
Vanshavali, 16, 115, etc.
Vanshavali Adi Param Shivthi, 49, etc.
Vanshavali Ranajini, 34, 43, 60, 91, 95, 177.
Varaj Virya, 17.
Vir Stambha, 77.

Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi, 15, 205.
Was ( Tahasil Bharatpur ), 31.

# CORRIGENDA

| *Pages* | *Lines* | *Misprints* | *Corrections* |
|---|---|---|---|
| iii | 24 | 1920 | 1620 |
| 11 | 4 | patricide | parricide |
| 20 | 7 | , | — |
| 13 | 16 | eight | eighty |
| 62 | Note 10<br>Line 2 | | stop (.) after the word Firistad |
| 63 | 38 | V. S. 1717 | V. S. 1617 |
| 67 | 3 | Matrimonial | matrimonial |
| 69 | Note 38 | stone-backs | stone-balls |
| 70 | 1 | Tod P. 372 | — |
| 74 | 17 | trunks the | trunks, the |
| 78 | 10 | 1563 | 1568 |
| 85 | Note 13 | Rayaa | Rayala |
| 92 | 28 | dist nguished | distinguished |
| 128 | Note 28 | 1608 | 1609 |
| 145 | Plate | prayer palace | prayer place |
| 146 | 12 | Raja Merta | Raja and Merta |
| 161 | 26 | Rana | Ranga |
| 170 | Map | Rajputi Camp | Rajput Camp |
| 178 | 4 | lithargical | lethargical |
| 180 | 7 | War | war |
| 184 | 30 | Raj Singh | and Raj Singh |
| 187 | 32 | Hijri | A. D. |
| 195 | 22 | —— | and Jai Samudra |
| 198 | 20 | Sandhya | Sanadhya |
| 201 | 28 | picures | pictures |
| 205 | 8 | oven-bearer | ewer-bearer |
| 209 | 17 | tare | there |
| 222 | 2 | rehabilitating | rehabilitation |
| 223 | 7 | In | in |
| 233 | 23 | 1866 | 1856 |
| 237 | 5 | Kartik | Bhadrapada |
| 240 | 20 | Zealous | zealous |
| 241 | 1 | Amraun | Aeraun |

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'Mewar and the Mughal Emperors' by Dr. G. N. Sharma, is the first book of its kind. The subject has been dealt with by Mahamahopadhyay Kaviraja Samaldas and Mahamahopadhyay Dr. Gaurishanker Ojha, but their works being in Hindi, most scholars cannot easily use them. Dr. Sharma's book is a scholarly presentation of the subject. He has used all available sources in a scientific manner, and has made an important contribution to the history of Mewar.

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